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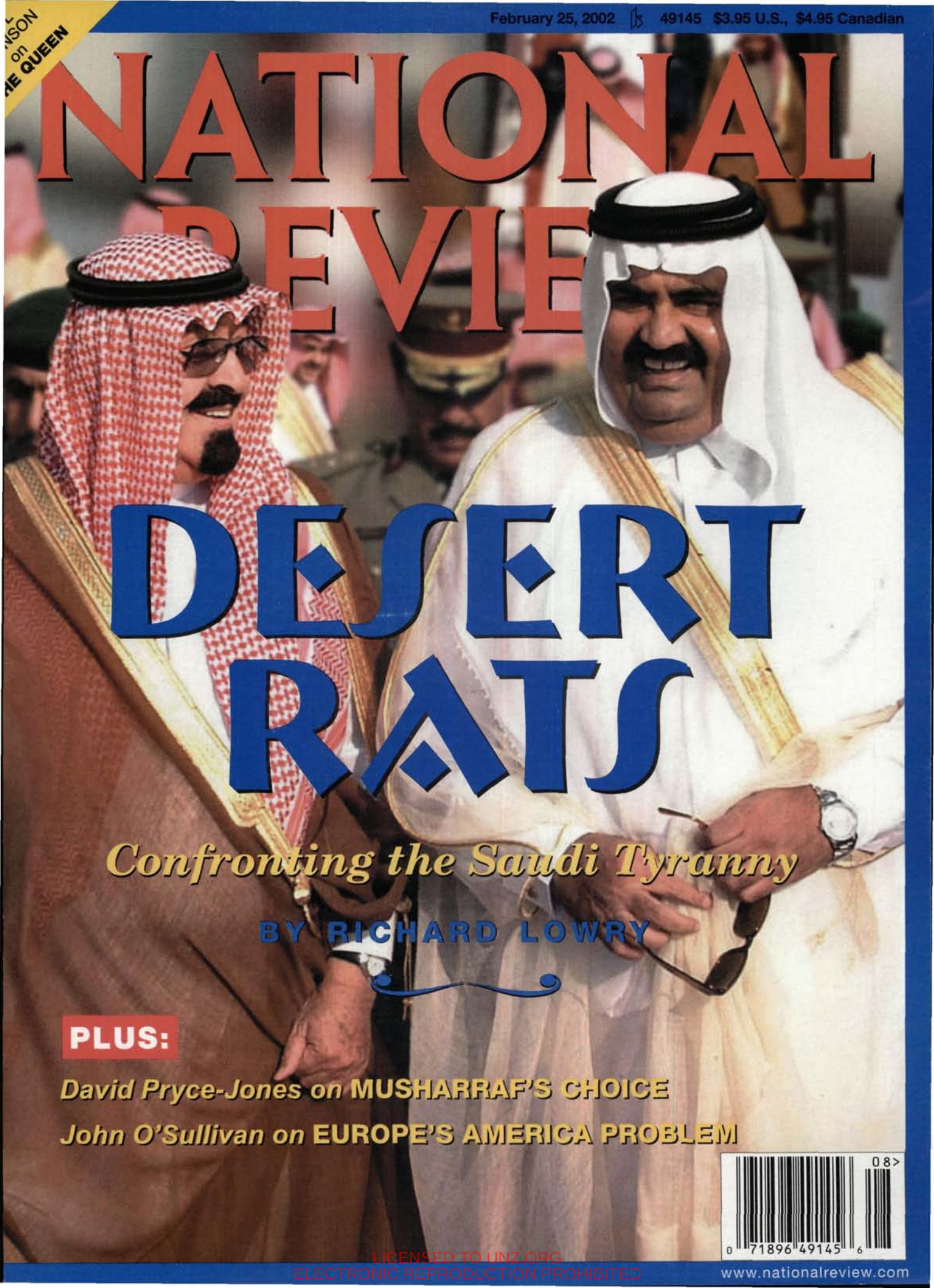

DESERT RATS

Confronting the Saudi Tyranny

BY RICHARD LOWRY

PLUS:

David Pryce-Jones on **MUSHARRAF'S CHOICE**

John O'Sullivan on **EUROPE'S AMERICA PROBLEM**

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FEBRUARY 25, 2002 VOL. LIV, NO. 3

ARTICLES

18 Collapsing Saddam *by James S. Robbins*
A multi-part strategy for getting the job done.

20 Enron Explained *by Ramesh Ponnuru*
Cutting through the hype.

22 American Tali-lawyer *by Byron York*
Defending John Walker Lindh.

24 Corps-Crazy *by Kate O'Beirne*
The administration and its new, needless initiatives.

26 'Happy and Glorious' *by Paul Johnson*
The Queen at her Golden Jubilee.

27 America's Store, R.I.P. *by Dave Shiflett*
K-Mart goes under.

29 America's Unspecial Relationship
by Richard Lowry
A cold look at the Saudis.

32 Ataturk II? *by David Pryce-Jones*
Pakistan's Musharraf has a chance to be a great man.

34 Old World Charms, and Alarms
by John O'Sullivan
Understanding those difficult Europeans.

36 Spam Tastes Gross *by Jay Nordlinger*
Degradation—and illegality—in your in-box.

Cover: Agence France Presse

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

Great Scots!—*Michael Knox Beran,* ***page 44***
How the Scots Invented the Modern World: The True Story of How Western Europe's Poorest Nation Created Our World & Everything in It, *by Arthur Herman*

Men o' War—*Brian C. Anderson,* ***page 46***
Warrior Politics: Why Leadership Demands a Pagan Ethos, *by Robert D. Kaplan*

What It Takes—*Noemie Emery,* ***page 48***
When Character Was King: A Story of Ronald Reagan, *by Peggy Noonan*

Morals Charge—*Carol Iannone,* ***page 50***
The Clash of Orthodoxies: Law, Religion, and Morality in Crisis, by Robert P. George

Islam's Wrong Turns—*Stephen Schwartz,* ***page 51***
What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response, by Bernard Lewis

SECTIONS

2 Letters
4 For the Record
6 The Week
39 The Long View
40 Help!
50 Poetry
54 On the Right
56 The Misanthrope's Corner

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■ LETTERS ■

HAMMERING STRAIGHT

Remember when one of the popular battle cries of the '60s was, "Tell it like it is!"? We must have more of Roger Kimball ("Dr. West and Mr. Summers," Jan. 28) "telling it like it is." In his Harvard tale he constantly, unerringly, hit the nail on the head. This story of Harvard's hypocrisy and shame left no bent nails: Every one was hammered straight and true.

Mike Lostritto
Culebra Island, Puerto Rico

PAGING DOCTORS

Re Jay Nordlinger's piece, "Is There a Dr. in the House?" (Feb. 11): When I was in graduate school, one of my professors was a Ph.D. psychologist. He did some work at one of the local hospitals, where he always parked in spaces marked "Doctors' Parking Only." That is, until they changed the sign to read "Physicians' Parking Only."

Al Dubinsky
Pittsburgh, Pa.

I recall that Darrell Royal, the highly successful football coach at the University of Texas, was granted the title "Professor." Faculty of course objected. Someone told a protester that if he developed the best department in the country, he might be granted the title "Coach."

Joseph G. Louderback
Seneca, S.C.

With a doctorate in economics, I often remind people that I'm qualified only to write an appendix, not remove one.

David W. Riggs
Washington, D.C.

I once saw a letter from an academic who actually began her longhand signature with "Dr." If I remember correctly, she was in English.

George E. Rennar
Seattle, Wash.

KISSIN' COUSINS

Stanley Kurtz ("Veil of Fears," Jan. 28) defends the veiling of Muslim women as part of the kinship or tribal system, but while doing so exposes the custom of marriage between first cousins. He either misses or ignores the fact that in societies that are targets of Muslim terror, first-cousin marriage is generally disapproved.

However, this widespread inbreeding may explain another phenomenon—the large number of idiot terrorists who are running around.

Charles K. Sergis
Calabasas, Calif.

OUR PORCINE BROTHERS

From The Week (Jan. 28): "Just as there is no compelling moral objection to owning, killing, or experimenting on pigs, there is none to manufacturing them." I am among those who believe that human beings and animals share a common ancestry, and that some animals may therefore possess a subjective awareness similar to our own. While the human race can and must look after its own interests, I believe there are limits to what we may conscionably do to other members of the animal kingdom. That the systematic cloning, mutation, and dismemberment of pigs for medical purposes falls within these limits is not as obvious as you suggest.

Bruce Larson
Seattle, Wash.

THANKS A LOT, GUYS

Ever since NR put Don Rumsfeld on the cover (Dec. 31) and proclaimed him a stud, my wife has been paying more attention to the SecDef. As we watched Bush's cabinet make its way down the aisle at the State of the Union, she said that Rummy was "kind of cute." Just wanted to let you all know, I blame you.

Eric Christ
Sun City, Ariz.

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A world of ideas on public policy.

In Defense of Global Capitalism

by Johan Norberg

The current debate about globalization presupposes that the world is rapidly going to the dogs. In particular, the world is said to have become increasingly unfair. The chorus of the debate on the market economy runs: "The rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer." If anything, this is regarded as a dictate of natural law, not a thesis to be argued. Yes, the first half is true: the rich – not all of them everywhere, but generally speaking – have indeed become richer. But the second half is, quite simply, wrong. The poor have not, generally speaking, come to be worse off in recent decades. On the contrary, extreme poverty has diminished, and where it was quantitatively greatest – in Asia – many hundreds of millions of people have begun to achieve a secure existence and even a modest degree of affluence.

Between 1965 and 1998, the average world citizen's income almost doubled, from $2,497 to $4,839. For the poorest one-fifth of the world's population, the increase has been faster still, with average income more than doubling during the same period from $551 to $1,137. In China, the World Bank has spoken of "the biggest and fastest poverty reduction in history."

By the 1990s, when the Swedish author Lasse Berg and the film-maker Stig Karlsson returned to Asian countries in which they had travelled thirty years earlier, they could not believe how wrong they had been to view socialist revolution as the only way out of the misery they had seen on their earlier visit. In India and China, more and more people were extricating themselves from poverty, hunger, and insanitary conditions.

> ***The most important thing of all is liberty itself, the independence and dignity which autonomy confers on people who have been living under oppression***

The biggest change of all is in people's thoughts and dreams. Television and newspapers bring ideas and impressions from the other side of the globe, widening people's notions of what is possible. This development has resulted not from socialist revolution but, on the contrary, from a move in the past few decades towards greater individual liberty. International exchange and the freedom to choose have grown; investments and development assistance have transmitted ideas and resources. Benefit has been derived from the knowledge, wealth, and inventions of other countries.

Imports of medicines and new health care systems have improved living conditions. Modern technology and new methods of production have boosted productivity and improved the food supply. Individuals have become freer to choose their own occupations and to sell their products. Discrimination has been reduced, since global capitalism doesn't care whether the best producer is a man or a woman. Discrimination is expensive, implying as it does the rejection of certain people's goods and labor. We can tell from the statistics how these developments have enhanced national prosperity and reduced poverty. But the most important thing of all is liberty itself, the independence and dignity which autonomy confers on people who have been living under oppression.

Lasse Berg sums up the phenomenon thus: "It is not only inside China that a Chinese wall is now being torn down. Something similar is happening all over the world, in Bihar, in East Timor, Ovamboland. Human beings are discovering that the individual is entitled to be his own. This has by no means been self-evident before. The discovery engenders a longing, not only for freedom but also for the good things in life, for prosperity."

It is this mentality which must inspire optimism. We have not travelled the full distance; coercion and poverty still cover large areas of our globe. Great setbacks can and will occur. But people who know that living in a state of ignorance and oppression is not a natural necessity will no longer accept this as the only conceivable state of affairs. They will demand freedom and democracy. The aim of our political and economic systems should be to give them that freedom.

Johan Norberg holds an MA in the history of ideas and is a leading protagonist in the Swedish debate on free trade and globalization. This article is extracted from his recent book, In Defence of Global Capitalism, published by Timbro (www.timbro.se).

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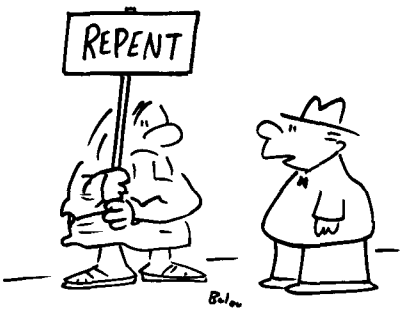
■ FOR THE RECORD ■

■ President **Bush** in State of the Union address: "States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world." . . . "Our enemies believed America was weak and materialistic, that we would splinter in fear and selfishness. They were as wrong as they are evil." . . . "For too long our culture has said, 'If it feels good, do it.' Now America is embracing a new ethic and a new creed: 'Let's roll.'" . . . Bush, on NBC: "Flight 93, for me, was the defining moment because it was the ultimate definition of sacrifice where people would, on the phones to their wives, say a prayer, and then drive a plane into the ground to save perhaps my life or the lives of others." . . . Bush on how much of his day goes to the war, on NBC: "I'd say half, and in terms of my concerns, I'd say 90 percent of it." . . . In Zogby poll, Bush is rated "great" or "near great" by 63 percent—trailing only **FDR** and **JFK** in esteem. . . . In NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* poll, Bush approval rating at 82 percent.

■ As "new adversaries" gain access to weapons of mass destruction, says defense secretary **Donald Rumsfeld**, their attacks "will grow vastly more deadly than those we suffered" on 9/11. . . . In CBS News/*New York Times* poll, 67 percent say GOP is "more likely to make sure the military is strong," versus 18 percent picking Democrats; 57 percent prefer Republicans to "deal with terrorism," versus 15 percent choosing Democrats. . . . In Pew/Council on Foreign Relations poll, 73 percent say they favor "military action in Iraq to end **Saddam Hussein**'s rule," and 56 percent pledge support "even if it meant that U.S. forces might suffer thousands of casualties." . . . In CBS News poll, 56 percent say war on terrorism won't be won unless **bin Laden** is captured or killed.

■ Record number of House members (38) receive perfect scores in ACU congressional ratings. . . . Former representative **Mark Sanford** (R., S.C.) proposes abolishing state income tax in gubernatorial campaign. . . . Sen. **Orrin Hatch** (R., Utah) on Justice Department decision not to indict Sen. **Robert Torricelli** (D., N.J.) in corruption probe, in *Roll Call*: "I was pulling for Senator Torricelli all along." . . . Sen. **Kit Bond** (R., Mo.) on Fed chairman **Alan Greenspan**'s suggestion that future tax cuts be linked to paying down national debt: "Hooverism."

■ In budget documents, Gov. **George Pataki** (R., N.Y.) highlights "restraining overall spending" as accomplishment—but Manhattan Institute shows state spending grew faster during Pataki's first two terms than during Democrat predecessor **Mario Cuomo**'s last two terms. . . . Democrats ask Atlanta, Boston, Detroit, Houston, and New York to submit bids for 2004 convention, but party chief **Terry McAuliffe** says he wants host city to have Democratic mayor, which would put sentimental favorite New York out



"I repented once, and I've regretted it ever since."

of running. . . . Former Rep. **Rick Lazio** (R., N.Y.) considers campaign for House seat he lost when he challenged **Hillary Clinton** for Senate. . . . Abortion-rights group NARAL announces list of Senate races it will target: Colorado, Georgia, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, and New Hampshire. . . . Rep. **Tom Tancredo** (R., Colo.) on White House plan to increase food-stamp payments to noncitizens and belief this will encourage Hispanics to vote Republican: "Votes can't be bought with welfare."

■ Sen. Hillary Clinton (D., N.Y.) on whether she thinks "vast right-wing conspiracy" still stalks her, in *Washington Post*: "It doesn't ever seem to end. If a couple days go by and they haven't heard anything they can talk about, they make something up. It never ends." . . . More Hillary on former New York City mayor: "**Giuliani** will screw you every time." . . . Hillary Clinton hosts fundraiser for Iowa governor, raising eyebrows in early-primary state about her national ambitions. . . . **Al Gore** creates PAC, in possible step toward new presidential run. . . . More Gore: "Our nation's economic policy is simply not working." . . . Asked if he will support Gore for president, Sen. **Byron Dorgan** (D., N.D.) "laughed uproariously," according to *New York Times*, and said, "Al Gore lost North Dakota by 28 points! . . . The entire ticket went down with him in North Dakota. When you lose by 28 points, that's a megalandslide."

■ Federal officials indict Puerto Rico's former education secretary for extorting $4.3 million from contractors for himself and pro-statehood political party. . . . Utah sues Census Bureau over counting methodology in 2000 census; if successful, one House seat will shift from North Carolina to Utah. . . . ACLU says it will sue town of Inglis, Fla., unless it removes "anti-Satan proclamations" from posts at town entrance, according to AP. . . . Former senator **Hank Brown** (R., Colo.) resigns as president of University of Northern Colorado to head Daniels Fund, a Denver-based philanthropic foundation.

■ Former Israeli prime minister **Ehud Barak**: "**Yasser Arafat** happens to behave like a terrorist, he looks like one, he walks like one, he quacks like one, so maybe he is really a terrorist." . . . India successfully test-fires intermediate-range missile. . . . **Fidel Castro** suggests building statue of Gov. **George Ryan** (R., Ill.) for his anti-embargo views. . . . Prior to presidential election, Zimbabwe passes law requiring journalists to obtain licenses from government.

■ Sign spotted at headquarters of Planned Parenthood in Washington, D.C., according to *Washington Times*: "No Deliveries." **NR**

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THE WEEK

■ The American Bar Association has criticized the use of military tribunals to try al-Qaeda terrorists. It wants them reserved for Republican judicial nominees.

■ A word, in the wake of the State of the Union address, on modern rhetoric. All Americans like rhetoric [Applause]. Rhetoric expresses our highest values, and our deepest dreams [Applause]. But there cannot be true rhetoric in one- and two-sentence bursts. Speeches on that pattern read like a bag of fortune cookies [Laughter and applause]. American speakers need to stretch themselves, and American audiences need to listen [Applause] . . . need to listen, or the American spirit cannot stretch its wings [Standing ovation]. Thank you, and God bless America [Applause].

■ Bush's address was, however, a fine speech, and as Daniel Henninger remarked in the *Wall Street Journal*, it is impossible to imagine any top Democrat giving it. Indeed, in the days after the speech, former secretary of state Madeleine Albright was on the airwaves saying it was a "big mistake" for Bush to call Iran, Iraq, and North Korea an "axis of evil." It was a mistake, apparently, because it gave the Europeans heartburn—or at least gave the previous administration's foreign-policy team heartburn. Albright, let's not forget, was the official who decided to replace the phrase "rogue states" with the more anodyne "states of concern"—as though North Korea were some misunderstood teenager. Albright's other notable contribution to the foreign-policy debate since September 11 has been to criticize the first Bush administration for not toppling Saddam Hussein. Never mind that she opposed the Gulf War at the time, served in an administration that left every aspect of U.S. policy toward Iraq weaker than it had found it, and—she has recently informed us—opposes toppling Saddam now. Albright and her colleagues have earned their place in the axis of incompetence.

■ The Democrats seem suddenly to have been propelled back in time to the 1980s. Once again, there's a popular Republican president, and the GOP has a lead in both economic and national-security issues. So Democrats are borrowing from their '80s playbook: issuing dire warnings about the deficit, capitalizing on such soft maternal issues as health care and the environment, and bleating about "the sleaze factor"—which has now supposedly been reborn in the Enron scandal. It didn't work back then. Meanwhile, the party's presidential candidates are trying to move rightward to appeal to a newly sober-minded public, while also competing for the liberal voters who will turn out in their primaries. It's only a matter of time before these candidates are compared to the "seven dwarfs" who ran for the Democratic nomination in 1988. Republicans, being Republicans, will probably not have the wit to make the most of their political opportunities. But they should at least enjoy this moment while it lasts.

■ And just when you thought it couldn't get worse for the Democrats, along comes more bad news: Al Gore is returning to public life.

■ "Contempt for the poor"—that's what *New York Times* columnist Bob Herbert accused the Bush administration of, in the wake of its decision to alter terms of the State Children's Health Insurance Program. Is the administration cutting back on the program, which subsidizes medical care for low-income kids? To the contrary, Bush is *expanding* it, changing its definition of the word "children" to include the unborn children of the poor. This move was, naturally, attacked as a backdoor assault on *Roe* v. *Wade*. "Cynical!" fretted the *Washington Post*, lecturing the administration that "politics and pregnancy don't mix." We look forward to the *Post*'s advancing that line in defense of the next Supreme Court nominee who comes under Democratic attack for his pro-life views. And we anticipate with pleasure the campaign-season spectacle of pro-choice Democrats explaining to poor women—many of whom are "minorities"—why Bush's decision to pay for their babies' prenatal care is a contemptible thing.

■ Sen. Phil Gramm is being roundly pilloried for doing favors for Enron. Public Citizen, a Naderite group, reported that the Texas Republican pushed through legislation that exempted from regulation a kind of futures trading in which Enron specialized. Several newspapers jumped on the story, with repeat offender Bob Herbert writing a column about how Gramm "danced to Enron's tune." An embarrassing revelation for the senator, one would think. Except that it turns out that Gramm did not write the legislation: It came to the Senate from the House. He didn't usher it through the Senate: He wasn't on the agriculture committee, which considered it. (Some of Gramm's critics appear to have mistakenly assumed that it went through the banking committee, which he chairs.) And while Gramm eventually voted for the bill that included the provision, for several months he single-handedly *blocked* that bill over Enron's objection. (He objected to other provisions.) So all the embarrassment is on the side of the Public Citizens and Bob Herberts of the world—if they're capable of it.

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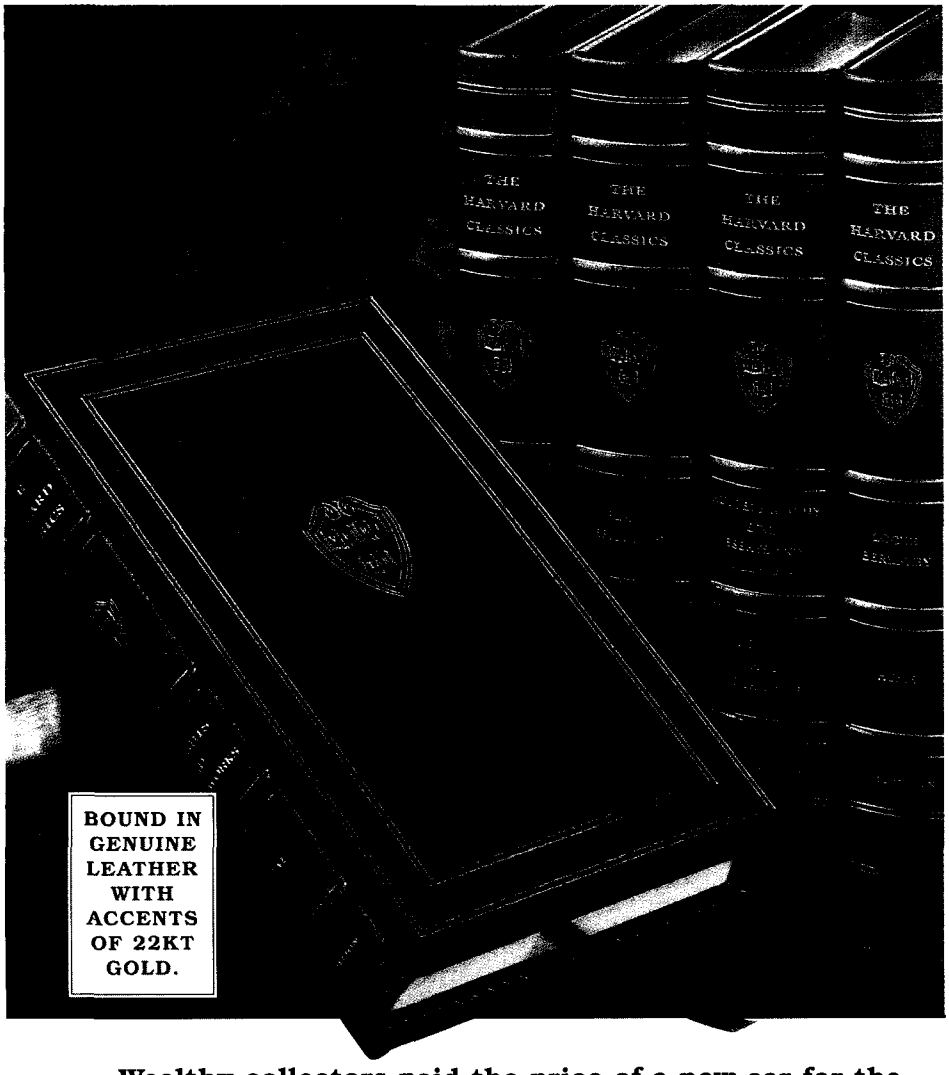

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■ Here's an early Pulitzer nomination: the *Washington Post* series by Bob Woodward and Dan Balz on White House deliberations in the days after Sept. 11. It's full of telling little details, such as that Bush's war cabinet, getting ready for important discussions the next day, dined on buffalo at Camp David. Buffalo! We'd be more impressed only if they had prepared it with their own Bowie knives. The overriding lesson of the series is how important the man at the top is—"the man at the desk," as the first Bush used to say—how George W. Bush understood from the beginning the nature of the terrorist challenge and pushed his team to be as aggressive as possible in fighting it. Such a *Post* series usually becomes a book. This is one Woodward title we will look forward to.

■ Lyndon Johnson was doing violence to the Constitution long before he became president. As a senator in 1954, he got a law passed that prohibited churches from endorsing or opposing political candidates. The law is rarely enforced, but from time to time ministers are warned that their churches will lose their tax exemptions if it is violated. Now Walter Jones, a Republican congressman from North Carolina, is sponsoring a bill to repeal Johnson's law. Barry Lynn, the head of Americans United for Separation of Church and State, is against repeal. To protect churches from the state is not the purpose of his organization. It is, however, a purpose of the First Amendment—as is the protection of the right to speak freely about politics—and the vindication of that amendment requires passage of Congressman Jones's bill.

■ Elaine Donnelly of the Center for Military Readiness is calling for the elimination of the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services, a committee on which she once served. The committee is made up primarily of civilians who advise the Defense Department on "women's issues," and for several decades it has been dominated by feminists who argue for social experimentation and the softening of standards against the traditional culture of the military. Its charter expires this month. The president should refuse to renew it. Women have already arrived as valuable members of the military, and they don't need civilian feminists to dictate what their—and America's—needs are.

■ The drug czar's office spent nearly $3.5 million on two heavy-handed ads during the Super Bowl. These ads noted that some terrorist groups make money by selling illegal drugs. The implication is that people who buy drugs have some moral responsibility for terrorism and should therefore desist from casual drug use. Perhaps they should, and perhaps that's a compelling reason. But it is also the case that terrorists would not be able to make vast profits from the drug trade were it not illegal. A reason, perhaps, to reconsider the drug war too?

■ The story line proved irresistible: Justice Department's Top Prude Drapes Naked Statue. Two large semi-nude statues adorn the department's Great Hall, where the attorney general holds big press conferences. In the past, a large blue curtain was rented to present a TV-pleasing backdrop. An aide responsible for staging such events, on her own initiative, hoped to economize by requesting the purchase of a curtain. She may have been admirably conscious of costs, but she was definitely oblivious to the ways of Washington. A phony story then ran on the website of ABC News attributing the decision to the straitlaced attorney general, who supposedly couldn't bear the bare breast of Ms. Spirit of Justice. Other reporters happily echoed the fabrication, many no doubt lamenting that a permanent curtain would end their fun in going for the "gotcha" shots that framed the breast and the beast.

■ The World Economic Forum was camping out at the Waldorf-Astoria in Manhattan, and so the anarchists of the world united to make trouble in the streets. Anarchists, despite their name, are not furies of liberty, but anti-capitalist Luddites whose agenda would require the micromanaging of daily life. New York's finest watched them like hawks, and shut them down at the least sign of illegality. *Amen*, thought the average New Yorker, who has had too much of real violence to have much patience for street theater. The World Economic Forum, meanwhile, does not break store windows. But how much better is it? Its meetings are a status ritual, like Renaissance Weekends or Trilateral Commission conclaves, at which insecure rich people feel flattered by receiving their boilerplate, not from the op-ed pages of their daily newspapers, but from the lips of the world's boilermakers—Bill Gates, Sen. Patrick Leahy . . . If there is a liberal/statist cliché of the moment, it will be uttered at a World Economic Forum. Glad they're both out of town.

■ Zimbabwe, formerly Rhodesia, will hold a presidential election in early March. Campaigning has been somewhat muted by the passing of a Public Order and Security Act, making it a crime to criticize or ridicule President Robert Mugabe. One journalist has already been jailed under the act. Nor has the murder of three opposition activists, and the abduction of four more, done much to encourage hopes for a fair result. Mugabe's determination to stay in power at any cost has, however, met with some modest reverses. When he at first denied entry to election observers from the European Union, the EU replied with threats of sanctions, travel bans on Mugabe and his cronies, and the freezing of assets. (Mugabe is a keen practitioner of the old African custom of shoveling the wealth of one's nation into personal bank accounts in foreign cities.) Mugabe yielded, and the observers are to be in place. They are unlikely, however, to be able to arrest the slide of this unhappy nation, once so prosperous and peaceful, into despotism and chaos.

■ Fifty years ago, in February 1952, the nation of India, newly independent from British rule, conducted her first

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The Palestinian Identity

Robert Zelnick is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and acting director of the Department of Journalism at Boston University.

On a clear March night in 1986, accompanied by a young Palestinian lawyer named Jonathan Kutaeb, I drove from Jerusalem to Nablus to pay respects to the family of Zafir el-Masri. El-Masri had been assassinated by a Palestinian fanatic for daring to cooperate with Israel by serving as mayor of an important town. But the Palestinians attending his funeral treated him as a hero.

Because of his unique standing, the Israel Defense Forces held back, allowing the funeral to become an emotional display of national sentiment. Illegal Palestinian banners were waved wildly. Masked celebrants chanted their allegiance to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). El-Masri's shroud was passed from hand to hand above a crowd pulsating with energy.

On the drive to Nablus, my friend Jonathan tried to put the significance of el-Masri's funeral into words. **"Palestinians have always relied on some outside force to deliver us from occupation.** First it was the pan-Arabism of Nasser and Assad. Then the Russians. Then the PLO from its bases in Lebanon. Then the Americans after Camp David. Now we know that by asserting our identity we must deliver ourselves."

When the first intifada erupted more than a year later, I was back in the states, covering the Pentagon. From afar, I felt great sympathy for the Palestinian people and little for Israeli settlement policies. Israel, in my view, had vital security interests in the West Bank and Gaza, the foremost of which was a Palestinian community that accepted Israel's right to exist. Settlements whose defense required a stifling, humiliating military presence were obstacles to real security.

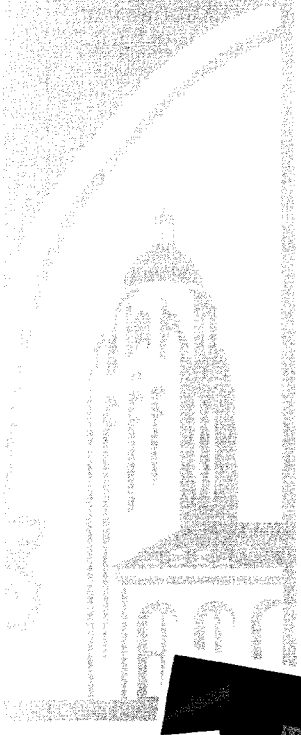
Oslo would later seem a triumph of reason over ruin. The principle of mutual recognition could succeed selfish, destructive obsessions with national destinies. Israel could return to its central mission of providing a haven for world Jewry while the Palestinians could build a nation reflecting their values and character.

Instead, today there is heartbreak. And this time blame for the failure rests almost totally with the Palestinians. Yes, the settlements have expanded. But this Palestinian uprising began as many settlements were being negotiated away by a prime minister who had staked his political life on true compromise.

Far more troublesome is the evident mentality of the Palestinian community. Does a man who blows his body to bits for the transcendent joy of killing a score of Jewish teenagers accept the humanity, let alone the statehood, of his victims? **When a third of all Palestinians identify the terrorist Hamas organization as their preferred political vehicle, are they ready to administer the holy city of Jerusalem side by side with Israelis?** When their teachers and mullahs argue the falsity of the Holocaust and the truth of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, can one believe the Palestinians have any peace to trade for land?

As I recall the drive to Nablus nearly sixteen years ago, part of me still yearns for the Palestinians to affirm their identity. Another part of me fears they have already done so.

— Robert Zelnick



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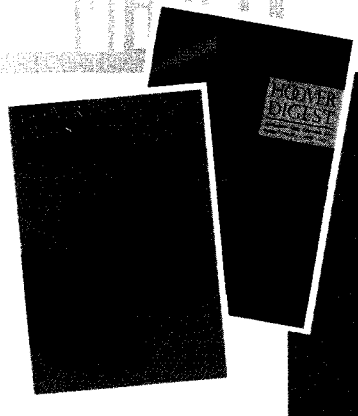

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general election. The survival of parliamentary democracy in that huge and disparate nation, through wars and disturbances and vast social upheavals, is one of the most heartening stories of the 20th century, and a standing rebuttal to all arguments that poor countries, or Asian countries, or multi-ethnic countries, are in some way unsuitable for constitutional government. (And no, we have not forgotten Indira Gandhi's 1975–77 "state of emergency." Nor should it be forgotten that India's voters punished Mrs. Gandhi at the polls.) We extend our congratulations to the people of India on this memorable anniversary, and urge our own government to keep in mind, in the exigencies of the present crisis, that we share some fundamental political values with a proud and ancient nation of a billion souls.

■ The Dalai Lama has been denied the chance to speak in Australia's Parliament House. The government there feared to offend the Red Chinese. This happens to the Dalai Lama rather a lot. Pity that the Red Chinese leader is never denied the chance to speak—for fear of offending the Tibetans.

Genius at Work

"When I see an American flag flying, it's a joke . . . I'd be very happy to stay [in Britain]. There's nothing in America that I would miss at all."

—director Robert Altman, in the London Times

"Everyone wants to play a retard."

—a movie producer, quoted in the New York Post *about the current mania among Hollywood actors for mentally handicapped roles.*

LONDON—Expatriate American director Robert Altman today began shooting his new movie, M*U*S*H, which will portray an Al Qaeda army field hospital for mentally-challenged soldiers. Starring are: Sean Penn, Alec Baldwin, Barbra Streisand, Tim Robbins, Susan Sarandon, and numerous other top stars who either detest the United States government or want to play "retards."

"When I heard that Bob was producing a genuinely anti-American movie, I jumped at the chance," said Sean Penn, pulling on a cigarette between close-ups and punching out a reporter.

According to a copy of the script obtained by the reporter after being pummeled by Mr. Penn, the movie satirizes the United States' retaliation against Al Qaeda for the September 11 terrorist attacks. In one scene, President Bush, played by Alec Baldwin, is depicted trying to eat a pretzel through his ear.

While the crew set up a shot in which the American flag is used by Osama bin Laden—played by Mr. Penn—to blow his nose, Mr. Altman discussed his disgust with America and the ways in which it has failed him.

"When Bush stole the election last year, with the help of his Enron pals," he said, "I realized that there was no hope for America. Any country that elects a man like George W. Bush deserves to have planes flown into its skyscrapers."

Shooting resumed. The next scene involved President Bush trying to eat an ice-cream cone in the Situation Room, repeatedly shoving it into his forehead while various generals, played by actual inmates of an insane asylum outside London, jump up and down on the table like chimpanzees. Ms. Sarandon plays Daisy Cutter, the sinister director of the Central Intelligence Agency who, it turns out, was actually behind the September 11 attacks. She tosses bananas at the generals while Mr. Baldwin smears ice cream on himself.

"Cut," Mr. Altman barked, evidently unhappy. "Alec, I'm just not believing that you're genuinely retarded in this scene."

Mr. Baldwin then gave a short speech denouncing nuclear power in which he misstated 18 facts.

"*Okay*," Mr. Altman said. "That's more like it. Show me some of that."

The scene played to Mr. Altman's satisfaction. Ms. Sarandon tells the President that the United States must drop chemical weapons on Taliban madrassa elementary schools because it would be "lots of fun." Mr. Baldwin, appearing to agree, picks up a paperweight and throws it at Vice President Cheney, played by the actor Bob Balaban, who put on 150 pounds for the role.

"Cut. Print," Mr. Altman ordered.

Over a lunch of meat pies and Watney's ale, the 77-year-old director laid out the conditions under which he would return to the United States.

"First, Bush would have to personally apologize to Al Gore, then commit suicide by pretzel—if he could remember how. That's non-negotiable. Second, the U.S. would have to apologize to the Taliban—and to me personally—for bombing them. Third, I could use some new equipment."

Over fish and chips, Mr. Penn and Mr. Baldwin got into a spirited discussion of alternative sources of renewable energy, with Mr. Baldwin suggesting that a "giant windmill, you know, a really *big* windmill" could generate "like a ton of megavolts." Mr. Penn concurred and called for the assassination of Fox News talk host Bill O'Reilly, then it was back to work.

Before shooting a scene in which Condoleezza Rice plays chopsticks badly on the piano while Karl Rove—played by the actress Linda Hunt—plots to steal the 2004 election, Mr. Altman was asked if the movie, which depicts the United States as a joke and the source of all the world's problems, would play well to American audiences.

"I try not to think about that," he said. "I just hold my nose and think of England."

—CHRISTOPHER BUCKLEY

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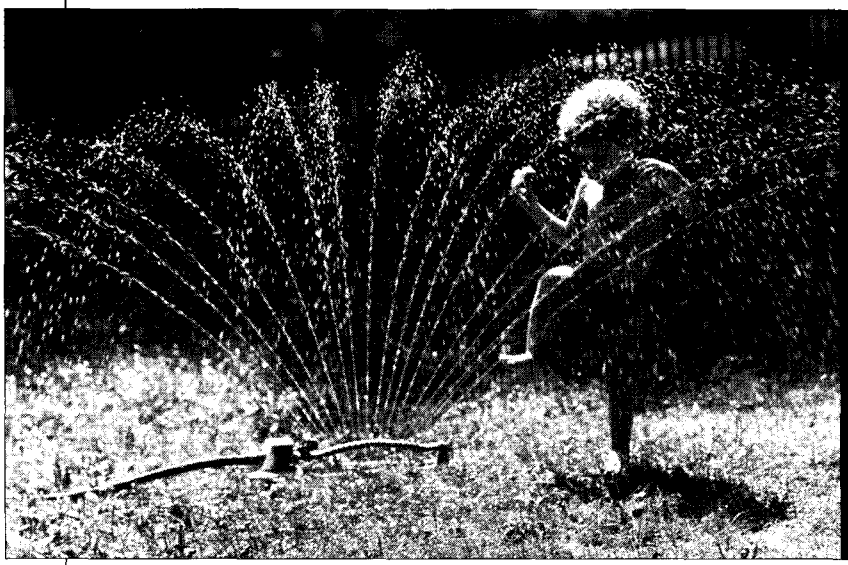

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■ Li Guangqiang, a Hong Kong citizen, was sentenced to two years in a Chinese jail for bringing in 30,000 Bibles with evangelical commentary. Mr. Li's relatives were relieved, since they feared that he might get the death penalty. When President Bush visits Beijing at the end of this month, he should be mindful of how his hosts treat followers of his favorite philosopher.

■ Jimmy Carter has signaled his intention to visit Castro in Cuba. This would make him the first president or ex-president to do so. Carter's record on democracy and human rights, particularly in Latin America, has been abysmal. For example, he was extraordinarily grudging—even bitter—about the replacement of Nicaragua's Sandinistas by the elected democrat Violeta Chamorro. If he went to see Castro, would he insist on meeting members of the democratic opposition, not just the regime's officials? Would he demand to see jailed dissidents, such as the brave and inspiring Dr. Oscar Biscet? Or would he just enact with Castro the kissing game he played with Brezhnev (although really, as Carter's people explained later, Brezhnev went for *him*)?

■ When Pope John Paul II called on Roman Catholic lawyers to refuse to take divorce cases, he was trying to walk the hard line of the modern world, between fundamentalism and impotence. He acknowledged that Catholic judges cannot refuse to hear divorce cases; he asked lawyers not to get those cases going, but to work, with priests and others, to "positively resolve the crisis" in the marriages that come before them. Any political regime that imposes more than the most basic rules of social survival—Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not steal—courts tyranny. Any religion that exhorts without sanctioning its straying believers is in the business of sending out mental Hallmark cards. Many a Protestant and Jew understand the Pope's situation. Neither the Taliban nor the Vicar of Bray can.

■ These are tough times for pocket-knife manufacturers, especially Victorinox, the maker of the famous Swiss army knife. Following Sept. 11, some airports banned the sale of pocket knives, and passengers everywhere have been relieved of such weapons as nail-clippers, tweezers, and Congressional Medals of Honor. In the last three months of 2001, sales of Swiss army knives fell 32 percent. Since makers of the knives cannot count on a change in absurd and inefficient airport-screening policies, they have instead tailored their products to them: Models for 2002 include a pocket "knife" without a knife-blade and a children's knife with rounded blades. The newest Victorinox "knife" sports a rounded edge that the company describes as "a picnic spreader." In case these schemes do not succeed in reversing flagging sales, we suggest a few others: the Swiss army butter knife, spherical letter-opener, and collapsible satin Brillo pad.

■ J. Joseph Curran Jr., the attorney general of Maryland and a Democrat, has declared his intention that Maryland should be the first state in the Union to outlaw handgun ownership in all but the most restricted circumstances. One of his key strategies has been to have state police build a database of all convictions in the state, for any offense at all going back to the 1960s, and then to deny gun licenses to anyone convicted of any offense punishable by more than one year in jail (for a federal offense) or more than two years (for a state offense), regardless of the *actual* sentence handed down in any case. Mr. Curran cast this net and pulled in . . . Donald G. Arnold, president of a neighborhood association in Baltimore, named "citizen of the year" in 2000 for his work with police in ridding the streets of drug dealers. In 1969, Mr. Arnold spent a night in jail after a barroom scuffle—he had been in uniform when the other party to the fight called him a babykiller—but he has been guilty of nothing since. When he tried to renew the license for the gun he needs to carry in his work as a private detective, he was turned down. "One of the big problems today with our law is we've broken down the distinction between a felony and a misdemeanor," opined a state senator. Not to mention the difference between plain common sense and blinkered fanaticism.

■ On January 16, Peter Odighizuwa opened fire at the Appalachian School of Law in Grundy, Va., killing a dean, a professor, and a student before being "tackled" (*New York Times*) / "pounced on" (*Washington Post*) / "wrestled to the floor" (London *Guardian*) by four male students, whose actions almost certainly prevented further deaths. That, at least, was the story in the major news outlets. Actually, "tackling," "pouncing," and "wrestling" alone didn't do it: Two of the rescuers, Mikael Gross and Tracy Bridges, were armed with guns they had kept in their cars. "I aimed my gun at him," Bridges says, "and Peter [the assailant] tossed his gun down. Ted [Besen] approached Peter, and Peter hit Ted in the jaw. Ted pushed him back and we all jumped on." Writing in the *New York Post*, John R. Lott Jr. notes that only *four* stories even mentioned the rescuers' guns; in 72 accounts, the rescue is bowdlerized as tackling/pounc-

It Sounds Familiar

The DNC's Terry McAuliffe,
Who dumped Global Crossing before
The stock took a dive, disappearing
In bankruptcy court, isn't sore:
McAuliffe, you see, made a bundle,
But please keep it under your hat;
Employees still pine for their pensions,
And Terry feels bad about that.

—W. H. von Dreele

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ing/wrestling. Reporters were scrupulous, however, in describing the gun of the attacker as "a .380 semiautomatic handgun" (*Times*), "a .380-caliber semiautomatic pistol" (*Los Angeles Times*), and so on. The way the media tell it, you'd think they *wanted* guns to only ever be used by the bad guys. When the gun-control measures they sponsor are passed, they will be.

■ Departing surgeon general David Satcher is urging Americans to take up arms against obesity, which may soon overtake smoking as the leading preventable cause of death. A Satcher report focused on school-lunch offerings and physical-education programs, but with media attention shifting from Big Tobacco to Big Food, the trial lawyers and legislators are already circling. Kelly Brownell of Yale University favors a "twinkie tax" on chips, candy, Big Macs, and the like; and the Center for Science in the Public Interest wants to discourage couch potatoes with "a 5 percent tax on new televisions and video equipment." Why stop there, however? Stress, substance abuse, social maladjustment, and poverty all correlate with higher rates of illness, so how about special penalties for Type-A personalities, addicts, loners, and the poor? We could then move to subsidize breakfast, marriage, regular vacations, and prayer—all of which are thought to contribute to a longer lifespan. What's depressing, of course, is that it would be perfectly in character for the social engineers to take ideas like these seriously. Then again, according to scientists at the University of Maryland, another thing that may make you live longer is frequent laughter. So the next time you see a liberal worrywart, thank him.

■ One long thread running through the modern history of the English-speaking nations has been the attempt to civilize the sport of boxing. The desire of some men to punch each other in the face until one of them falls down, and the desire of many more men (and a few women) to watch them doing it, is apparently ineradicable in our culture. We can hope only to regularize and socialize it. Efforts in this direction have been underway since the English prizefighter Jack Broughton introduced the first rules for the sport in 1743—an act that so endeared him to his countrymen, they buried him in Westminster Abbey. Alas, boxers are, in the nature of things, a rough crowd. There have been many whom no amount of success, wealth, and social prominence could draw into the ranks of civilized humanity. Such a one is Mike Tyson, who at a press conference in late January assaulted and bit champion Lennox Lewis, then emitted a string of shouted profanities when disengaged. Tyson, a convicted rapist, has a long record of erratic behavior both in and out of the ring. The decision by the Nevada State Athletic Commission, denying him a license to fight in that state, is good news for boxing fans, for the noble ideal of sporting pugilism, and for those of us who believe that young Americans can never have too many restrained, gentlemanly role models to emulate, or too few of the other kind.

■ In the largest effort of its kind to date, an international team of astronomers has conducted a survey of the light emitted by over 200,000 galaxies. Their conclusion: The universe, taken all in all, is a rather fetching shade of pale greenish turquoise. Though there are no green stars, the astronomers explain, the large number of old, red stars and young, blue stars combine to give the overall green effect. Why wouldn't the red and the blue make purple? Hey, they're the scientists, we just report this stuff.

STATE OF THE UNION

Command Performance

THE State of the Union address was the speech of a commander in chief. The war began and ended it, and the war was the backdrop of the domestic items in the middle. When President Bush and Sen. Kennedy made their friendly little waves to each other, it was not two partisan pols maneuvering for public advantage, or enjoying the faux-bonhomie of the Beltway. The commander-in-chief was confidently greeting a prominent domestic figure; the sense of their relative importance was never in doubt.

Bush committed the country to a long and open-ended war. He warned us of terrorists worldwide, and—in a crucial addition to his rhetoric—of hostile states pushing hard for weapons of mass destruction. The headlines focused on the "axis of evil"—Iraq, Iran, and North Korea—but Bush himself was not so restrictive. "States *like* these [emphasis added] and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil." Don't fret, Syria and Somalia: The club is still open for members. There was more: "Some governments," Bush said, "will be timid in the face of terror. . . . If they do not act, America will." How long will what Bush called "this campaign" last? It "may not be finished on our watch." Bush's watch will last almost three more years, seven if he is reelected. How much longer than seven years? In his peroration, he called this "a decisive decade." Europe, and Europeanized elites here, are expecting the terror war to wind down. But George W. Bush has signed up for a very long haul, with much expense, and potentially much suffering ahead.

The president proposed a large, and necessary, increase in defense spending (that Cold War word change, whereby the Department of War became the Department of Defense, now, after 9/11, rings true). With guns came butter. In the middle of his speech the 9/10 Bush, the compassionate conservative, reasserted himself, as he made passing references to Head Start, "a quality teacher in every classroom," a patients' bill of rights, Medicare coverage of prescription drugs. He presented a new USA Freedom Corps, a nationally sponsored volunteer group, which takes its inspiration from Bill Clinton and JFK, if not the New Deal. The Freedom Corps is one of those ideas, fine-sounding, that depend entirely on the details; the historic trajectory of such entities is a brief curve from inspiration to pork. Against such an onslaught, Dick Gephardt, giving the Democratic response,

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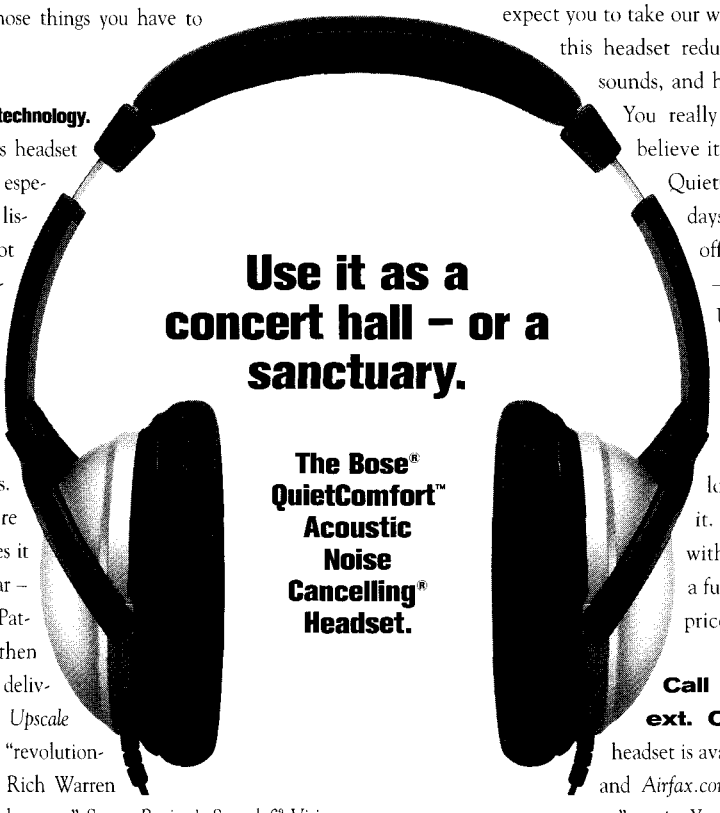
Think of it as a Mute button for the world around you. Whether you're irritated by the engine roar on airplanes, noise of the city,

bustle in the office, or the blare of neighborhood yard work, this headset lets you hush them all. And it does it with the flick of a switch. You savor delicate musical nuances in places where you couldn't before. And when you're not listening to music, you can use it to quietly enjoy a little peace. Clearly, the Bose QuietComfort headset is no ordinary headset. It's no exaggeration to say it's one of those things you have to experience to believe.

Reduce noise with Bose technology. *Whole Earth* describes this headset as "perfectly wonderful," especially when you "need to listen anywhere there are a lot of background distractions." That's because the QuietComfort headset actively monitors and counteracts unwanted noise and reduces it before it reaches your ears. It recognizes what you're about to hear and compares it with what you want to hear – music, or silence itself. Patented Bose technology then counteracts the noise and delivers the sound you want. *Upscale* magazine calls this headset "revolutionary." Respected columnist Rich Warren hails it as his "product of the year." *Stereo Review's Sound & Vision* reports that it "can be a terrific antidote for delayed flights, engine noise, crackly airline headphones, and all the other nuisances passengers encounter."



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was reduced to supplying footnotes; he mentioned campaign-finance reform and made a reference to Enron—pretty feeble stuff for a party that thinks it won the 2000 election.

Did Bush's peroration commit us to the worldwide revolution of values that Francis Fukuyama thought was happening spontaneously, and that many neoconservative triumphalists have urged us to lead? Parts of it certainly read like that: He spoke of our "great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world towards the values that will bring lasting peace." These are "the non-negotiable demands of human dignity," among which he listed the rule of law, private property, and religious tolerance. But the pursuit of goals should always be governed by prudence. Bush made no mention of oppression in China, a temporarily quiet strategic rival that will be a cause for concern on his, and the next several, watches. He did not descant on the corruption and thuggery of our seeming ally Russia, or on stubborn social customs in our new friend India, which Indian governments, colonial and independent, have struggled to uproot for decades.

The founding text of American foreign-policy realism is the statement of John Quincy Adams, when he was secretary of state: "[America] is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own." Even he declared that we were freedom's well-wishers; this is a rebuke to realpolitik at its most cold-blooded. He said we were the champions only of our own because that's the way the world works. Every nation has to pick its battles. President Bush has picked a big one—or rather, he has understood that the battle has picked us. It is enough.

THE BUDGET

Leaner and Tougher

RANDOLPH BOURNE famously said that war is the health of the state. Democrats are discovering to their dismay that he did *not* say that war is the health of domestic spending. Mitch Daniels, President Bush's budget director, has recently reminded us that during World War II, non-war spending fell by 20 percent in two years. The Korean War saw such spending fall 28 percent in *one* year.

Bush's budget proposal does not, alas, cut back domestic spending, as FDR and Harry Truman did. But like their budgets, his reasserts the proper priorities of the federal government. He would increase defense spending by $48 billion, while holding domestic spending (excluding entitlements) to 2 percent growth. No conservative can *cheer* a $2.1 trillion budget, exactly. But the president has done an admirable job given the standards of Washington.

The defense increase is the largest in 20 years, and there are more increases to come. They can hardly come quickly enough. Almost half the increase will go to keeping up with inflation, covering military health-care costs, and a modest pay increase. Getting the armed forces more unmanned aircraft, newer fighters and ships, and new weapons systems is worth the additional money.

Bush is also to be commended for insisting that government programs should prove that they deliver results before getting more money—although one wishes he had applied that principle to the bloated education bill he signed in January. Whether a government program works as intended is not the only question worth asking before deciding to fund it; the program may represent a responsibility better left to the states, charities, or businesses, or be an unconstitutional expansion of the federal role. But even insisting on results is a step forward in Washington.

House Republicans are nervous because Bush's proposal assumes a deficit. They are willing to accept a deficit in order to pass an economic stimulus bill. If that doesn't happen, many of them will push to cut $3 billion more from the budget to keep it in balance. We wish them good luck in cutting $3 billion from the domestic budget—a worthy goal whatever the government's fiscal position. But their main job in this year's budget tussles will be to stand by the president, who has made a strong proposal.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

Exploiting Enron

OF all the lessons that might be drawn from the story of Enron's tangled accounts and bankruptcy, perhaps the oddest is that it is imperative to ban political ads. Yet that is the lesson that Washington is drawing. The Enron scandal is said to make passage of the McCain-Feingold bill urgent. One of the bill's major provisions would prohibit groups from running ads that mention candidates in the 60 days before an election. What this has to do with Enron is anyone's guess. But the scandal has indeed brought the legislation closer to enactment than ever before.

It's not clear that Enron's political influence had as profound and baleful an impact as the campaign-finance "reformers" believe. All its influence did not prevent the company from going under, or even get the Bush administration to lift a finger as it sank. True, Bush took some positions that served Enron's interests—championing energy deregulation, for example—but he did so out of conviction rather than a desire to curry favor with Enron. For the same reason, Clinton "sided with Enron" on global warming (the company thought it could profit from a treaty against it, while Clinton backed the treaty for ideological reasons).

Even if the reformers were correct in identifying Enron's influence-buying as a grave problem, their legislation would hardly solve it. They see donations by Enron executives as a form of influence-buying by the company. Yet McCain-Feingold, at least in the version passed by the Senate last spring, actually *raises* the amount individuals are allowed to donate to candidates. That liberalization is the result of an amendment to the bill and is, in our view, a good thing: That

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politicians spend too much time raising money is a legitimate complaint, and they spend so much time on it precisely because current law forces them to raise money in small increments. But under the law the reformers are now demanding, Enron executives would have been able to donate more to politicians and thus—by the reformers' own standards—the company would have had more influence.

The Enron scandal, in short, does not strengthen the substantive case for McCain-Feingold. Nor should nervous congressmen conclude that Enron makes it politically imperative to support it. Polls always find that most people "support campaign-finance reform," but also that they do not care much about the issue. Nobody wins or loses elections on the issue. There is no reason to think any of that has changed just because the media have been hyping Enron's bankruptcy as a political scandal.

In any case, a congressman's duty is to the Constitution, not the polls. That duty cannot be delegated to the courts; a congressman must judge the constitutionality of a bill and vote accordingly. The ban on election advertising strikes at the core of the First Amendment's guarantee of free speech. Congressmen have sufficient reason to vote down McCain-Feingold on that basis alone—and if they fail in their duty, President Bush will have sufficient reason to veto it.

■ NOTES & ASIDES ■

■ Robin Wu, R.I.P.

At the NATIONAL REVIEW staff Christmas party, we were surprised to see Robin Wu. Of course he had been invited, as a close former associate, but in recent years he had appeared infrequently at our Christmas affair—he was married, had a child, and spent all of his time in his law office in Chinatown. And then too, he was sick.

Robin Wu, born in 1941, arriving in America as a teenage refugee, was the most upwardly mobile phenomenon in the experience of NATIONAL REVIEW. He was hired as NR librarian late in 1970 and promoted to research director in 1974. He earned a master's in library science and then another degree, in law.

For ten years he accepted any assignment we gave him, and performed his work masterfully. Then one day he left his tearful dependents and began his law practice.

His widow passed the word that, because of his illness, he had turned down the invitation, but that when the day came he appeared rather agitated at home. She realized that he wanted to see his friends at NATIONAL REVIEW one more time.

So she drove him and their little boy into the city and gave us the pleasure of his company, and heightened the sense of loss on hearing of his death.

WFB

■ Dear Bill: If you didn't see the *N.Y. Times* mini-obit on Aaron Horwitz, part of their splendid series on the victims of 9/11, I think you'd want to look: a perfect mini-portrait-obit-eulogy. And look at the kid's face!

Love,
Priscilla [Buckley]

Finding Good in a Bad Day

Once, Aaron Horwitz had what most people would consider a supremely lousy day. A friend asked him how he would rate it, from 1 to 10, with 1 the worst.

"Eight," he replied.

You could get a contact high from Mr. Horwitz, 24, a bond broker at Cantor Fitzgerald with the almost laughable responsibility of entertaining clients and making them feel like the most important people in the world.

As if anyone had to pay him. For he was not just a showman, who did the Michael Jackson moonwalk on bar tops and who, at a museum, drew his own masterpiece on a mist-coated window next to a Rembrandt.

He seized souls, not letting go until he made them merry. He met a guy in a toy store and, moments later, the two were having a hula-hoop contest. He insisted a concierge stop weeping over a bad breakup, then called her at 2:30 A.M. to make sure. He sweet-talked hostesses at four-star restaurants into producing tables for eight (and their phone numbers for dates) and persuaded a street masseur to let Mr. Horwitz give *him* a massage.

"You could talk to a brick wall," his father told him. Yes, allowed the son, but he preferred chatting with a mirror. He often did so, then fell over, laughing.

Pitts: Many thanks. Will reproduce in Notes & Asides, and maybe even the photo can come through.

XXB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: The word that Mr. Kilpatrick's reader is looking for (N&A, Nov. 5) may be *pleonasm.* It is most often used to mean the use of superfluous words, but it is also used to indicate the use of excessive punctuation.

Sincerely,
J. Walter Lynch
Athens, Ga.

Dear Mr. Lynch: Gee! Thanks! You saved my life! And happy New Year!
Cordially,

—WFB

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■ AT WAR ■

Collapsing Saddam

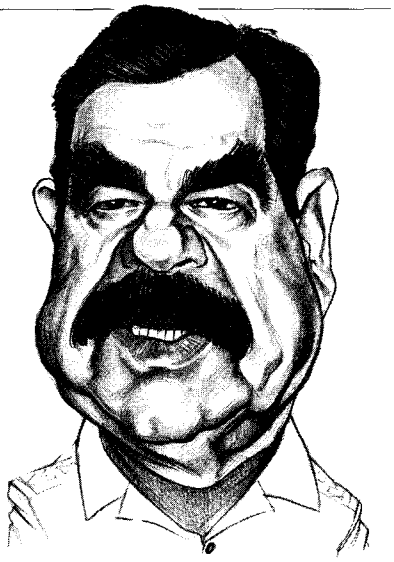
A multi-part strategy for getting the job done

JAMES S. ROBBINS

WHEN President Bush made clear that the next campaigns in the war on terror would focus on states developing weapons of mass destruction, the skeptical refrain instantly emerged: "Don't expect Iraq to be a pushover like Afghanistan." (Just a few months ago, of course, the skeptical refrain was, "Don't expect Afghanistan to be a pushover like Iraq.") And it's true that the campaign against Iraq will not be Desert Storm II. It will, instead, reflect the "transformational" strategic approach defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld outlined in his recent speech at the National Defense University—using and integrating all the elements of national power towards the goal of ending the terror regime of Saddam Hussein. The key is not to focus on a single type of effort, but to apply pressure in a variety of ways until the regime collapses.

As with the Afghanistan war, our first moves should be diplomatic. An important factor in the swift victory over the Taliban was the isolation of the Afghan dictatorship. Iraq has long been an international pariah, but has lately been taking steps to improve its international standing, especially in the Arab world. The United States should not take forceful measures to prevent Iraq from polishing its image or claiming the mantle of victimhood. The U.S. should instead seek to keep the anti-terror alliance together, and conduct a serious public-information campaign against Iraq. Nor should the U.S. be deterred by an initial lack of allied enthusiasm; it is worth remembering that George H. W. Bush did not have even the entire U.S. Congress behind him at the beginning of Desert Storm.

The key to winning—and maintaining—international legitimacy for our anti-Iraq effort is the United Nations inspection process. Security Council Resolution 687 (1991) demands that Iraq "unconditionally accept the destruction, removal or rendering harmless" of weapons of mass destruction. In 1998, the Iraqis ejected the U.N. inspectors (or, as they called them, "the dogs of the U.N. Special Commission"); recently, they rejected a Russian plan that would have brought the return of the inspectors. If Iraq remains intransigent, we should begin an air campaign against suspected Iraqi weapons facilities. And even if Iraq does allow the inspectors to return, they must be empowered in ways they were not before: The Iraqis must not be allowed to use delaying and stalling tactics, as they have in the past—shuttling records and evidence around the country one step ahead of discovery. If Iraq denies entrance to a building, we should bomb it as soon as the inspectors have been evacuated to a safe distance. This action is provided for in Resolution 687, of which Paragraph 12 calls for the "destruction, removing or rendering harmless" of these weapons. Bombing them is as certain as any other method, and it may have the beneficial effect of facilitating future inspections.



Saddam Hussein by Ismael Roldan

We can also find creative ways to enforce other U.N. resolutions. For example, the U.S. suspects that the Iraqis have been diverting oil revenues garnered under the "oil for food" program from their ostensible humanitarian purpose in order to support Saddam's military machine. The international community could claim the power—even the duty—to place the Iraqi oil industry under international supervision, and to route all profits derived from it to humanitarian relief distributed by U.N. agencies and NGOs. We should also pay special attention to Iraqi money trails and their connection to the terror networks. Many Iraqi accounts have already been frozen, but there are probably others yet to be found. The more sources that can be shut down, the fewer dollars will be accessible to support our enemies, and the less cash available to prop up the Baghdad regime.

Whether the inspectors return or not, the allies should prepare for military action. Unlike in Afghanistan, a substantial allied ground force will be necessary, to prevent preemptive Iraqi ground attacks against assets in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. On paper, the Iraqi armed forces still look strong: 400,000 men, 2,200 tanks, 2,900 armored vehicles, and 100 operational aircraft. Yet experience has shown that Iraqi arms are no match for smaller forces trained and armed by the West: Iraqi troops are unmotivated and untrained, their equipment ill-maintained and lacking spare parts. There is no reason to suspect that after ten years of sanctions the Iraqis will perform any better than they did in 1991.

The U.S. and Britain have lately stepped up attacks on Iraqi air-defense sites, and this effort should continue. The U.S. has also been slowly building up its troop presence in Kuwait—from around 4,000 to 24,000 personnel. There are several thousand more in Saudi Arabia and Qatar, and strong naval assets in the region. The allies will probably require a few hundred thousand ground troops to pursue active operations against Iraq. Marine expeditionary brigades could also be stationed

Mr. Robbins is a national-security analyst living in Alexandria, Va.

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Arabian Fables (I)

How the Arabs soften up world opinion with fanciful myths.

Josef Goebbels, the infamous propaganda minister of the Nazis, had it right. Just tell people big lies often enough and they will believe them. The Arabs have learned that lesson well. They have swayed world opinion by endlessly repeating myths and lies that have no basis in fact.

What are some of these myths?

The "Palestinians". That is the fundamental myth. The concept of "Palestinians" is one that did not exist until about 1948, when the Arab inhabitants, of what until then was Palestine, wished to differentiate themselves from the Jews. Until then, the Jews were the Palestinians. There was the Palestinian Brigade of Jewish volunteers in the British World War II Army (at a time when the Palestinian Arabs were in Berlin hatching plans with Adolf Hitler for world conquest and how to kill all the Jews); there was the Palestinian Symphony Orchestra (all Jews, of course); there was *The Palestine Post*; and so much more.

The Arabs who now call themselves "Palestinians" do so in order to persuade a misinformed world that they are a distinct nationality and that "Palestine" is their ancestral homeland. But they are no distinct nationality at all. They are the same — in language, custom, and tribal and family ties — as the Arabs of Syria, Jordan, and beyond. There is no more difference between the "Palestinians" and the other Arabs of those countries than there is between, say, the citizens of Minnesota and those of Wisconsin.

What's more, many of the "Palestinians", or their immediate ancestors, came to the area attracted by the prosperity created by the Jews, in what previously had been pretty much of a wasteland.

The nationhood of the "Palestinians" is a myth.

The "West Bank". Again, this is a concept that did not exist until 1948, when the army of the Kingdom of Transjordan, together with five other Arab armies, invaded the Jewish state of Israel, on the very day of its creation.

In what can almost be described as a Biblical miracle, the ragtag Jewish forces defeated the combined Arab might. But Transjordan stayed in possession of Judea and Samaria and the eastern part of Jerusalem. The Jordanians expelled all the Jews from the area that they occupied, destroyed all Jewish houses of worship, and renamed as "West Bank" the territories that had been Judea and Samaria since time immemorial.

The attempt, quite successful, was to persuade an uninformed world that these territories were ancestral parts of the Jordanian Arab Kingdom (itself a very recent creation of British power diplomacy).

> "The web of lies and myths that the Arab propaganda machine has created plays an important role in the unrelenting quest to destroy the State of Israel. What a shame that the world has accepted most of it!"

Even after the total rout of the Arabs in the 1967 Six-Day War, in which the Jordanians were driven out of Judea/Samaria and of Jerusalem, they and the world continued to call this territory the "West Bank", a geographical and political concept that cannot be found on any except the most recent maps.

The concept of the "West Bank" is a myth.

The "Occupied Territories". After the victorious Six-Day War, during which the Israeli army defeated the same cabal of Arabs that had invaded the country in 1948, Israel regained possession of Judea/Samaria, which the Jordanians had illegally occupied for 19 years; of the Gaza Strip, which had been occupied by the Egyptians, but which had never been part of their country; and of the Golan Heights, a plateau the size of Queens, which, though originally part of Palestine, had been assigned to Syria by British-French agreement.

The last sovereign in Judea/Samaria and in Gaza was the British mandatory power — and before it was the Ottoman Empire. All of Palestine, including what is now the Kingdom of Jordan, was, by the Balfour Declaration, destined to be the Jewish National Home. How then could the Israelis possibly be "occupiers" in their own territory? Who would be the sovereign and who the rightful inhabitants?

The concept of "occupied territories" in reference to Judea/Samaria and Gaza is an Arab propaganda myth.

Unable so far to destroy Israel on the battlefield — though they are feverishly preparing for their next assault — the Arabs are now trying to overcome and destroy Israel by their acknowledged "policy of stages". That policy is to get as much land as possible carved out of Israel "by peaceful and diplomatic" means, so as to make Israel indefensible and softened up for the final assault. The web of lies and myths that the Arab propaganda machine has created plays an important role in the unrelenting quest to destroy the State of Israel. What a shame that the world has accepted most of it!

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in the Arabian Gulf to add an element of flexibility to offensive planning, forcing the Iraqis to use large numbers of units to defend their coastline and the nearby oil facilities. As in Afghanistan, special-forces troops could be launched from aircraft carriers to establish forward operating bases and capture airfields far behind enemy lines for air-mobile deployments. If the Iraqis again deploy in long forward defensive positions in the desert, the allies will be able to choose their point of attack, punch through with local superiority, and surround the enemy forces—cutting their supply lines and rendering them ineffective. Allied air power would undertake its accustomed role of attacking command-and-control nodes, interdicting Iraqi ground forces on or behind the line of engagement, and targeting the Iraqi political leadership.

■

The message should be: All who help will be rewarded, and all who oppose will lose out.

■

One scenario has it that the Iraqis will virtually abandon their southern provinces and establish a defensive bastion centered on the capital. Saddam Hussein recently reorganized his command structure around three military districts—northern Iraq, southern Iraq, and Baghdad. Urban warfare is certainly more difficult for forces on the attack, and as the Russian experience in Grozny showed, victory can come at a prohibitive cost. But if the Iraqis established a Fortress Baghdad and settled in for a siege, the regime would be separated from its sources of national power—most notably the oil-production facilities, which could then be handed over to a transition government. Baghdad could be punished with airpower and long-range artillery, until the futility of resistance became evident and Saddam was toppled from within.

This highlights a critical point: The Iraqi campaign will be won, ultimately, not through military conquest but through the actions of internal opponents of the regime. Iraq differs from Afghanistan in that there is no territorial enclave currently held by resistance fighters, no front line to punch through to drive on to Baghdad. Furthermore, Saddam has been in power for over two decades and his mechanisms of control are more finely tuned. Nevertheless, the allies can count on support from established resistance groups, such as the Iraqi National Congress; the various ethnic resistance movements (Kurds, Shiites, and Turkomans); and, most important, those Iraqi tribes that have supported Saddam's regime but that will realize that it would better serve their interests to be on the allied side. As in Afghanistan, it will be the job of our intelligence agents to make the case to these groups that the time to take sides is at hand, and that if they choose wisely they will be rewarded

No single internal revolt (barring, of course, one by his bodyguards) will bring down Saddam Hussein. But as the number of successful insurgencies grows, as the liberated zone increases and stabilizes, and as it becomes clear to the oppressed Iraqis that it is possible to throw off their chains without retribution, an irresistible momentum will build. It would be a mistake to focus too much attention on a single resistance group, or to place excessive emphasis on Kurdish or other separatist groups that may have agendas that could alienate important allies (e.g., Turkey). The basic message should be: All who help will be rewarded, and all who oppose will lose out. Self-interest will do the rest. The U.N. should be engaged to set up a broad-based transition regime as soon as prudently possible. A resolution should be passed modeled on Resolution 1378, which set up the transition for Afghanistan. The allies need not wait until Saddam is finished before pressing ahead with this agenda; to move forward now would demonstrate the seriousness of the international community.

And the timeline for transforming Iraq? Difficult to project. Diplomatic initiatives can be launched rapidly, but the troop buildup will take longer, and our stores of smart weapons will have to be replenished before we can mount a serious air campaign. As the president has pointed out, time is not on our side—but the sooner we take action, the sooner the odds will reverse, and time will no longer be on the side of Saddam Hussein. **NR**

■ **THE NATION** ■

Enron Explained

Cutting through the hype

RAMESH PONNURU

IT'S now clear that this company was never as big as it seemed. It was, to a large extent, an illusion built on hype, accounting tricks, and outright fraud. Our eyes have now been opened.

Or have they? The generally accepted story of Enron's demise—the scandal of Enron—is almost equally overblown. Like the company itself, the scandal is largely built on hype, accounting tricks, and fraud.

No amount of hyperbole is being spared in discussions of the impact of Enron's fall. David Broder says that almost everyone is worrying about his pension now. Paul Krugman writes that it's a bigger deal than September 11 because it "told us things about ourselves that we . . . had managed not to see." Jonathan Alter calls Enron "a cancer on capitalism." Even the normally unflappable George Will sees a "systemic crisis of capitalism."

Reforms are said to be necessary "to keep this from happening again." It's almost always left unclear what "this" is that can't be allowed to recur. Presumably it's not that an energy company went bankrupt in the middle of a recession and a downdraft in energy prices.

True, it wasn't just any bankruptcy: Enron was the seventh-largest company in the country, and was found to be cooking its books. But it was the book-cooking that made it look so large in the first place. Michael Lynch of *Reason*, one of the few reporters on the Enron beat not to have succumbed to hysteria, notes that the company that was auditing Enron, Arthur Andersen, had more employees. Nobody lost electrical power. Kmart's bankruptcy was more consequential economically.

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Or maybe the evil that must never be repeated is what happened to Enron workers' 401(k)s. It's estimated that 62 percent of their pensions were in Enron stock, which is now worthless. Ted Kennedy writes in the *Boston Globe*: "As Enron stock fell from a high of over $90 to less than $1 a share, the company prevented workers from selling their Enron stock at every turn." Worse, top executives were selling their own stock at the same time.

It sounds pretty bad. But let's keep a few things in mind. First, employees did not have to buy Enron stock. And contrary to Kennedy's assertion, they were free to sell it at any time if they did buy it (except for one brief period, which we'll get to in a minute). Enron contributed company stock to employees' 401(k) plans: For every two dollars an employee contributed, he got one dollar of company stock. He could not sell that stock until age 50.

Assume a worker didn't buy Enron stock on his own. At the outset, a third of the assets in his 401(k) plan were Enron stock (because of the company contribution). That proportion rose as Enron's stock skyrocketed in value in the late 1990s. When the stock crashed, his plan lost much of its value—but mostly because that value was wildly inflated in the first place. He would have been better off if the company had raised his wage instead of giving him stock. But nobody forced him to work for a firm with that compensation package.

Our employee's plight, by the way, was not affected by his boss's stock sales. Former employees complain that executives should have spread the gloom around the office so that they would have known to dump their shares. So far, only columnist Ann Coulter has exposed the immorality of this position: The employees wish that they had known to sell their stocks to some other sucker. They're not angry that Enron was running a scam. They're angry they weren't in on it. Whatever they knew, employees were in a better position to see the company's weaknesses than outside investors.

The alternative is that Ken Lay should have made a general announcement to the entire investing public that his stock was likely to tank—and then faced lawsuits from all his stockholders about his violation of his fiduciary duty to them.

The employees have one more complaint: There was a "lockdown" from October 26 through November 12, during which they were unable to trade shares in their 401(k)s, although their bosses could. A lot of bad news came out during that period. On October 31, it was announced, for example, that the SEC was conducting a major investigation. The stock price fell from $16.34 to $9.98.

Sympathy for Enron employees should be tempered by two considerations. First, they knew a lockdown was coming. The accounts were frozen because administration of the 401(k)s was moving to an outside contractor—a decision made in February 2001. Employees were told when the accounts would be frozen in early October, and reminded in the weeks thereafter. Second, the stock had been steadily falling. People who still owned Enron stock of their own volition had already ridden it from a high of $90 in August 2000 to $16.34. They had already taken most of their losses—and they had only themselves to blame.

■

Enron employees are not angry the company was running a scam. They're angry they weren't in on it.

■

In some quarters, the Enron bust is being taken as an indictment of 401(k)s and "do-it-yourself investing" in general. But 401(k)s let Enron employees, if they so chose, reduce their risks: They could invest in other companies so they were not wholly dependent on Enron's fortunes. If Enron had managed their pensions directly, as was the practice before 401(k)s, they would have been even more dependent on the wisdom of its managers and would have had even less control. (Florida state workers in an old-line pension system lost money in Enron stocks without ever choosing to invest in them.)

All of us participate in a retirement plan that has the worst features of investing in Enron but no chance of escape: Social Security. That program uses misleading accounting, has undiversified assets, and faces the threat of bankruptcy, too. It's destroying more wealth, for more people, than Enron ever has. Voters know that they can't afford to rely on it—which is why, contrary to Broder's remark, they are continuing to invest in the markets. After weeks of non-stop Enron coverage, Gallup found in late January that 63 percent of voters still favor a right to invest some of their Social Security funds.

In Washington, of course, that reform is taking a backseat to the task of preventing "another Enron." President Bush has proposed two reforms. One would require lockouts to apply to top executives as well as lower-level workers. Another would prevent companies from giving stock to employees without letting them sell it after three years (so there'd be no more waiting until age 50). Neither reform would likely have saved the fleeting fortunes of Enron employees. Neither seems terribly harmful, either—although some Democratic proposals being floated would be.

The most promising area for reform is not pensions, but accounting standards. Enron's financial arrangements have justly earned its executives public censure and may earn them jail time. In addition, one popular proposal would forbid accounting firms from doing consulting work for companies they are auditing. This would keep the accountants from having conflicts of interest, and keep companies from floating skyward on a wish and a dream. The logic is sufficiently compelling that as staunch a free-marketeer as NR's Lawrence Kudlow has endorsed it.

On the other hand, there will be some conflict of interest as long as companies hire their own auditors. It's also worth asking why the market has not produced "clean audits" on its own. Maybe they're not worth the trouble. When audits come back positive, it doesn't raise shareholder value. It may be that policing companies' books is primarily a job for big lenders. Every once in a while these lenders fail spectacularly, and then learn to be more careful.

This is a useful, if dry, debate. It concerns something less than a crisis of capitalism. In mid January, Gallup reported that "the American public has paid relatively scant attention to the Enron controversy as a news story." Sounds about right. **NR**

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■ THE LAW ■

American Tali-lawyer

Defending John Walker Lindh

BYRON YORK

In the days after the parents of American Taliban John Walker Lindh hired San Francisco lawyer James Brosnahan to represent their son, several observers took pains to point out Brosnahan's history of supporting leftist causes. It was all true. But perhaps the real issue is not Brosnahan's politics but his history of politicizing the cases in which he's been involved.

Until recently, Republicans in Washington knew him best for prosecuting former defense secretary Caspar Weinberger in the Iran-contra case. Brosnahan and his boss, independent counsel Lawrence Walsh, made headlines by indicting Weinberger on October 30, 1992—the Friday before the election in which the first President Bush lost to Bill Clinton. Brosnahan and Walsh included in the indictment the full text of a January 7, 1986, note written by Weinberger that seemed to suggest that Bush knew more about the arms-for-hostages deal than he had let on.

There was no legal requirement to release the note; Weinberger was charged with making false statements to Congress, which the note had nothing to do with. But making the note public set off a media storm about Bush's credibility that raged through the precious few days before the election. Bush aides were appalled. Speaking to the *Washington Post*, one senior White House official called the timing of the indictment "an incredibly low blow by a mean, political hack." Many White House aides believed the wave of anti-Bush coverage killed the momentum that Bush had gained before the Weinberger indictment.

Nonsense, replied Brosnahan. "Let me explain that this case has nothing to do with politics; it has everything to do with government," he told reporters on November 24, 1992, the day Weinberger pleaded innocent to the charges. "Nobody need be concerned that this trial will be [anything] other than a fair trial for Mr. Weinberger. You can take that to the bank."

Republicans were not persuaded. Bob Dole, then the Senate majority leader, pointed out that Brosnahan had contributed to the Clinton campaign. Indeed, Brosnahan had contributed to every Democratic presidential candidate going back decades, as well as to a long list of liberal Democrats in California. But the extraordinary thing about the Clinton/Gore contribution was that Brosnahan made it while working on the Weinberger case—indeed, at *almost the same moment the Weinberger indictment was announced*. According to Federal Election Commission records, the Clinton campaign received Brosnahan's $1,000 contribution on October 29, 1992, the day before Weinberger was indicted. It was hardly the sort of act designed to give the impression that a prosecutor is acting in a manner above politics. (Brosnahan's prosecution ended when Bush pardoned Weinberger on December 24, 1992.)

The Iran-contra case was actually Brosnahan's second foray into Washington law and politics. Six years earlier, in 1986, Brosnahan made news when he testified against Supreme Court justice William Rehnquist. (Rehnquist was first confirmed to the Court in 1971; he underwent a second confirmation in 1986 when he was nominated to be chief justice.)

Brosnahan told the Senate that in 1962, when he was an assistant U.S. attorney in the Kennedy Justice Department, he was assigned to investigate complaints of voter intimidation in Phoenix. Brosnahan testified that during the investigation he saw Rehnquist, who was then a local lawyer, harassing voters at a mostly black and Hispanic polling place. Rehnquist, Brosnahan said, was vigorously challenging voters' credentials. "Because the challenges were so numerous, the line of voters in several precincts grew long, and some black and Hispanic voters were discouraged from joining or staying [in line]," Brosnahan testified. "It was my opinion in 1962 that the challenging effort was designed to reduce the number of black and Hispanic voters by confrontation and intimidation." Three other Democrats said they saw Rehnquist doing the same thing.

There were substantial problems with Brosnahan's story. First, eight other witnesses who had been present said they never saw Rehnquist doing anything of the kind. Second, the man who headed the Phoenix Democratic party at the time testified that he had never heard the accusations about Rehnquist. And third, Brosnahan—despite his apparent strong feelings—had not come forward when Rehnquist was first nominated and confirmed to the Court in 1971.

As it turned out, Brosnahan was encouraged to speak out against Rehnquist in 1986 by The Nation Institute, a non-profit organization affiliated with the left-wing *Nation* magazine. The institute runs something called Supreme Court Watch, which maintains a network of activists dedicated to opposing Republican judicial nominees. As they geared up to fight the Rehnquist nomination, the institute's staffers sought out Brosnahan. "We are proud of the role played by our sister institution, The Nation Institute, in the examination of Rehnquist's record," the editors of *The Nation* wrote in August 1986. "As witness Brosnahan explained, his participation in the hearings had been set in motion when he was interviewed by . . . two reporters hired by the insti-

James Brosnahan by Roman Genn

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tute's Supreme Court Watch project."

Apart from his work on liberal causes at home, Brosnahan has devoted much energy to another passion, the politics of Northern Ireland. He runs something called Northern Ireland Alert, an organization that grades American politicians on their support of Irish nationalist causes. To receive high marks from Brosnahan, lawmakers have to approve a slate of pro-nationalist positions, including "release or leniency regarding political prisoners."

One of Brosnahan's highest-profile court cases involved Irish nationalist Kevin Artt, who confessed to the murder of a prison warden in Belfast in 1978. Artt, who later claimed his confession had been coerced, was sentenced to life in prison. In 1983, he joined 37 other inmates who broke out of Maze Prison in the largest prison escape in British history. He made his way to the United States, where he avoided attention until 1992, when he was arrested and scheduled for extradition back to Northern Ireland. But Artt was saved by Brosnahan, who agreed to represent the convicted killer pro bono.

Brosnahan mounted a defense of Artt that was in essence a political attack on the authorities in Northern Ireland. An account in the *National Law Journal* described a court session in 1996 in which Brosnahan gave the judge a "Manhattan telephone directory-sized pile of documents" about "political conditions, human rights abuses, and discriminatory practices against Catholics in Northern Ireland." The judge put aside most of Brosnahan's material, but Artt was eventually released on bond after the Good Friday peace accord, which led to the release of dozens of convicted killers and other prisoners in Northern Ireland. Finally, in September 2000, British authorities dropped the extradition effort altogether.

■

Even though Walker Lindh seems indisputably guilty, prosecutors should still be wary of Brosnahan.

■

Now, it is not unreasonable to expect that Brosnahan will come up with a similarly political defense strategy for John Walker Lindh. But this time Brosnahan may find himself facing insurmountable odds. For one thing, his client seems indisputably guilty—if anything, it appears the Justice Department undercharged him in an effort to ensure a conviction. For another, polls show that Americans overwhelmingly favor severe punishment for Walker Lindh. Finally, the trial will be held in Northern Virginia, not too far from the post–September 11 repair work being done at the Pentagon, and it seems unlikely that Brosnahan will be able to muster the kind of support for his client that might sway the jury pool. Still, prosecutors should be careful. Brosnahan has won a lot of cases in his long career, and successfully defending the American Taliban would be the biggest victory of all. **NR**

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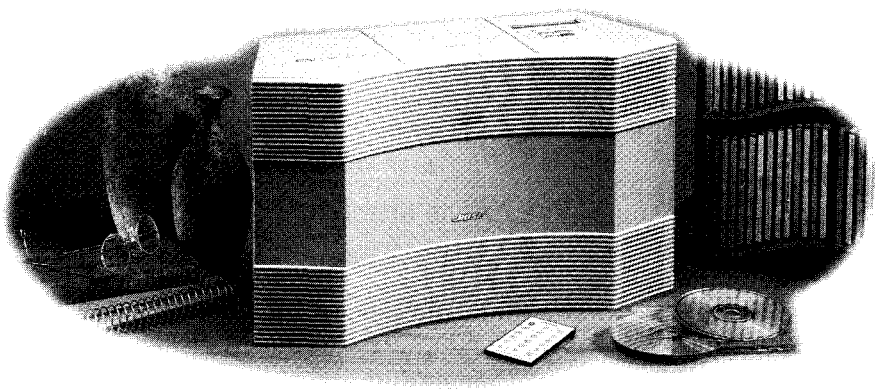

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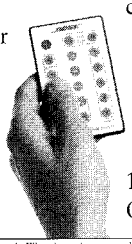

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■ **PUBLIC POLICY** ■

Corps-Crazy

The administration and its new, needless initiatives

KATE O'BEIRNE

THE spontaneous response of Americans to the Sept. 11 attacks should serve as a rebuke to critics who fret about an anemic civic spirit. Charities' coffers were filled, blood banks overflowed, and inventories of Old Glory were exhausted. In November, President Bush marveled that the Communities of Character initiative he had on the drawing board, "designed to spark a rebirth of citizenship and character and service," had been so abruptly overtaken: "The events of September the eleventh have caused that initiative to happen on its own, in ways we could never have imagined." But now Washington is getting into the act, with a new program—the USA Freedom Corps—to ensure that the federal government will have a role in mobilizing volunteers.

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The critics are right: AmeriCorps is a wasteful boondoggle.

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According to the president, "The federal government did not create this civic spirit; but we do have a responsibility to help support and encourage it where we can." So the Freedom Corps, based at the White House, will coordinate the activities of expanded current programs—AmeriCorps, Senior Corps, and the Peace Corps—and a spanking new Citizens Corps that will focus on homeland security. Former Indianapolis mayor Stephen Goldsmith, chairman of the board of AmeriCorps' parent, the Corporation for National and Community Service, explains that it's Washington's duty "to capture the civic spirit" evidenced after Sept. 11. Writing in the *Wall Street Journal*, Goldsmith and Leslie Lenkowsky, the Corporation's CEO, concede that "the U.S. is rich with opportunities for its citizens to volunteer," but argue that AmeriCorps and its sister programs "are among the few ways Washington can respond to the many people who want, after Sept. 11, to express their patriotism."

Because AmeriCorps can "foster good citizenship," Goldsmith and Lenkowsky expect that their fellow conservatives will join with liberals to support the expanded program. But ever since Bill Clinton created it in 1993, AmeriCorps has involved a different sort of flag-waving for its conservative critics, who saw only red at the notion of a bureaucratized paid-"volunteer" program. Under AmeriCorps, about 50,000 members a year sign on to work between 20 and 40 hours a week, for up to two years, in exchange for a $4,725 annual award to use for college costs. About half of the participants also receive a living allowance, bringing the total cost of each AmeriCorps "volunteer" to $14,025 a year, according to Goldsmith. Bush's proposal would increase the number of members by 25,000, and impose new accountability measures in response to the program's conservative critics.

But the critics are right: AmeriCorps is a wasteful boondoggle. After a few years of monitoring the program—and armed with critical reports from the General Accounting Office—the House Appropriations Committee eliminated the funding for AmeriCorps. (The program was spared by the Senate.) James Bovard found enough abuses in AmeriCorps to devote a whole chapter to it in his book *Feeling Your Pain: The Explosion and Abuse of Government Power in the Clinton-Gore Years*. Bovard found plenty of examples of AmeriCorps participants' wasting their time, engaging in liberal advocacy, and making wildly exaggerated claims about their accomplishments. In Buffalo, for example, members ran a program that paid children $5 for each toy gun turned in; and the Los Angeles Gay and Lesbian Center's AmeriCorps program tackles "society's last 'acceptable' prejudice: anti-gay bias." About half of Ameri-

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Corps members are involved in tutoring and mentoring programs, and Clinton praised participants for having "taught millions of children to read"; but this homage is dubious, given the lack of evidence that a single child is now literate because of AmeriCorps.

Nor have charges of waste, abuse, and excessive credit-claiming been the only criticisms of AmeriCorps. In 1996, John P. Walters—then president of the New Citizenship Project, now the Bush administration's "drug czar"—expressed the philosophical reservations of the many conservatives who objected to AmeriCorps' expansion of government in the name of civic renewal. In a *Policy Review* article, he wrote that "using federal resources to promote voluntarism . . . contradicts the principle of self-government that lies at the heart of citizenship." He criticized the view of citizenship "based on universalized interests and responsibilities, not genuine familial and social attachments."

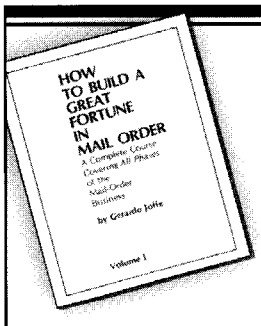
AmeriCorps is a misguided response . . . to a nonexistent problem: Even before Sept. 11, the citizenry was plenty active, without Washington's help. According to the most recent survey by the Independent Sector, a coalition of volunteer groups, in 2000, 44 percent of adults—an estimated 84 million people—volunteered with a formal organization, for an average of 3.6 hours a week (per volunteer). Charity closer to home, not included in the survey, would have included additional millions who are caring for an aging family member, babysitting for a relative, or helping a sick friend. An effort like the first President Bush's much-ridiculed "Thousand Points of Light"—a simple call to service, and a celebration of those who answer—could likely mobilize more volunteers than the hundreds of millions of dollars in federal grants that fund paid volunteers to piggyback on well-established local programs. In one of its glossy brochures, the Corporation for National and Community Service points out that AmeriCorps' troops typically serve with organizations like Habitat for Humanity, Big Brothers/Big Sisters, and Boys and Girls Clubs. Former GOP congressional aide Derrick Max, who studied the program during his stint in the House, found that cost-shifting wasn't uncommon, with an AmeriCorps worker sometimes replacing one of a community group's salaried employees.

Even though there's no shortage of volunteers, and no evident need for federal intervention between citizens and community groups, the current administration plans to create this new Citizens Corps, under the direction of the Federal Emergency Management Agency. The corps will engage volunteers in homeland-security efforts by assessing possible terrorist threats (the Neighborhood Watch program is doubled) and helping local law enforcement. There is also an export component to this new push: The administration wants to double the number of Peace Corps workers over the next five years, to match the program's historic high of 15,000 in 1966. Conservative activist Grover Norquist spots a fundamental contradiction in an administration committed to faith-based initiatives showing such enthusiasm for these secular do-gooders: "It always seemed to me that the Peace Corps secularized the missionary spirit that encouraged Americans to serve overseas."

Americans answered the call on Sept. 11, without waiting for Washington's guidance.

And all of this volunteering won't come cheap. The president is asking for an additional $560 million to cover next year's costs for his new initiatives, and although Republican eyes are rolling all over Capitol Hill, he's likely to get exactly what he is asking for. One House member who has objected to AmeriCorps in the past says, "The federal government getting more involved in Bill Clinton's program of national service is the silliest idea I have ever heard of," before speculating ruefully that "the president has 350 votes for this."

Americans answered the call on Sept. 11, without waiting for Washington's guidance; and now they're going to pay for that snub. **NR**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■ BRITAIN ■

'Happy and Glorious'

The Queen at her Golden Jubilee

PAUL JOHNSON

THE custom of a monarch celebrating a period of successful rule by a jubilee goes back to Ancient Egypt. The pharaohs marked the occasion by dancing round their palace. The Queen of England will not be dancing in the streets, but she celebrates her Golden Jubilee this year by touring the kingdom she has reigned over for half a century and by starring in many spectacular events.

If Americans are not quite clear exactly what role Elizabeth II plays in the constitution, they need not apologize. The British are often confused themselves. Their foreign secretary, Jack Straw, recently referred to prime minister Tony Blair as "the head of state," which is in fact the Queen's position.

By what authority the Queen reigns is unclear—or at any rate undefined—as are many other aspects of the British constitution. The English legal doctrine defines sovereignty as continuous; that is, the moment the monarch dies, the next in line by hereditary right automatically succeeds. When George VI died in 1952, Elizabeth II, his elder daughter, was proclaimed by the herald in these words: "The King is dead, long live the Queen." She reigns "by the grace of God." However, both these claims are ritualistic rather than real. When Queen Anne died childless in 1714, the government changed the dynasty by inviting the Elector of Hanover to come and rule. He was the nearest Protestant claimant to the throne, though dozens of people had a better hereditary right to it. The choice ended the assumption that the monarch reigned by divine right, and the new Hanoverian king, George I, admitted as much by claiming no supernatural powers.

In fact, the events of 1714 marked the point at which the British monarchy became parliamentary, though at no stage has Parliament ever claimed the right to make or unmake a sovereign. Moreover, the archbishop of Canterbury, as primate of the established church, continues to give a supposed divine sanction to the reign by placing the crown on the new sovereign's head in a coronation ceremony that goes back to the Dark Ages. The Queen is, *ex officio*, "Supreme Governor" of the Anglican Church, and in law her agreement is needed before any bishop or dignitary of that church is appointed. But it is generally supposed that this church could be disestablished, thus removing the throne's ecclesiastical underpinnings, without threatening the monarchical institution, and the proposal is often discussed, especially since Anglicanism has become only the second or third most professed creed in Britain.

Bryn Colton/Corbis

'Her matchless skills have come with time.'

What all this amounts to—put brutally—is that the monarchy is a mere convenience, accepted by the British people because it works well, on the whole, and because changing the system would be too much trouble. Why is it convenient? To begin with, because a hereditary head of state obviates the need for periodic elections and the conflict they involve; raises the occupant above party; and avoids dispute about title. It also ensures continuity of state.

After a reign of 50 years, the Queen knows much more about government than any of her ministers, is a vast depository of experience and precedents, and is acquainted with virtually everyone who matters in foreign countries, and especially in the British Commonwealth. It is true that her powers are limited by custom, being defined as "the right to be consulted [by ministers], the right to encourage, and the right to warn." But this is not a legal definition: It is merely the opinion of a Victorian guru, Walter Bagehot, as expressed in his little book *The English Constitution*. There remains a mysterious area of power, the prerogative, which can be activated in times of real crisis.

The ceremonial and dignified side of monarchy inspires awe, and the need of the head of government to defer to the monarch is a safeguard against what has been called "the tyranny of the democratic majority" and any demagogue who exploits it. No matter how great the size of a prime minister's parliamentary majority and his popular vote, he still has to bow the knee to the Queen and kiss her hands when she gives him his seals of office, and it is still within her power to dismiss him, though no such drastic step has been taken since the 1830s.

The Queen also stands at the center of a nexus of traditional functions that enhance her prestige and the awe she inspires. She is head of the Commonwealth. She herself chooses recipients of Britain's two highest honors, the Order of Merit, which goes to the top professional men and women, and the Order of the Garter, for the grandees and service chiefs. Through her Lords Lieutenant in each county, chosen mainly from leading landowners, she keeps in close touch with local elites, and through her own farms and estates, her patronage of racing, her colonelship of many regiments, her clerical appointments, her presidency of countless organizations (from the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals to the Royal National Lifeboat Institution), she is a meaningful leader to millions of traditional professionals and voluntary workers. Prime ministers

Mr. Johnson is a British historian and journalist. The latest of his many books is *The Renaissance: A Short History*. The forthcoming one is *Napoleon*.

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come and go—the Queen has seen the back of nine, and Tony Blair brings the total of her "chief servants" to ten. Everything operates in the name of the crown, as it did in George III's day, from the postal service to London's royal parks, and foreign envoys are still accredited to "the Court of St. James' Palace"—not Downing Street—just as when John Adams was the first U.S. envoy to Britain.

■

People high and low have turned again to the Queen as a source of comfort and inspiration.

■

Elizabeth II makes the most of these intricate vestiges of power and influence by her unassertive but tireless devotion to duty, her superb memory for names and faces, her excellent health, and her attention to the smallest detail. In ceremonial arrangements, Buckingham Palace, as anyone who has attended a function there will testify, is the most efficient machine of its kind in the country, probably in the world. The part played, early in the Reagan presidency, in the rebuilding of a dignified and ceremonial White House, after the decrepitude of the post-Watergate years, was a vital element in the restoration of America's self-confidence that marked the Reagan years. The Queen has been doing the same throughout her 50-year reign, during which the country has disbanded its empire and taken its place in the second rank of nations. It is, after the doldrum years of the 1960s and 1970s, increasingly a proud place, thanks to two women, chiefly—Margaret Thatcher and the Queen herself. Britain now has the world's fourth largest economy, after the U.S., Japan, and Germany, and people who watch the Trooping of the Colour on TV will concede it beats the world in grandeur.

This military display, moreover, is merely the peacock feathers of the fighting bird, for in recent years Britain's all-professional armed forces, fighting alone as in the Falklands, or alongside America in the Gulf, the Balkans, and Afghanistan, have proved themselves the smaller twin brother of American efficiency, and without rival in the world for intelligent use of resources and self-confidence. The part the Queen has personally played in the morale of the forces is beyond computation, as all its senior commanders will testify.

These and other matchless skills have come with time, and testify to the convenience of a permanent head of state who is there by right, not periodic election. She is also head of a family, which the people can get to know, and love—the Royal Soap Opera, as Malcolm Muggeridge once called it. But there are inconveniences too. Things go wrong in families, and in the British royal family they go wrong in public, for with a virtually uncontrolled and fiendishly intrusive media, nothing in royal behavior, however embarrassing, remains private for long. Whether the Queen paid too much attention to her red boxes (official work) and neglected her children as teenagers is a matter of opinion. But the fact is all four, in one way or another, have caused the institution grave difficulty, by affairs and/or divorces or by unwise forays into the commercial world. During the 1990s, the monarchy suffered its most damaging blows since the abdication crisis in 1936 and fell further in public estimation than at any time since the self-indulgences and marital messes of George IV early in the 19th century.

But the Queen herself was untouched by any hint of scandal or impropriety. She carried on, doing her duties, knowing the skies would clear some day. And they have. Most of the problems that beset her children have now been solved, or disappeared with time. People high and low have turned again to the Queen as a source of comfort and inspiration, for security, continuity, and unchanging values in a breathless modern world. The tears she wept at the special memorial service for the victims of September 11 were real tears, and nothing illustrated better the womanly humanity of a queen who has deep feelings as well as impeccable dignity. She became, on both sides of the Atlantic, a living emblem of the traditional civilized way of doing things that the war against terrorism is being fought to preserve. She is going to enjoy her jubilee year and so, I suspect, will countless millions of people, not only in Britain but throughout the world. **NR**

■ **CULTURE WATCH** ■

America's Store, R.I.P.

K-Mart goes under

DAVE SHIFLETT

WHERE were you when you heard the news? The news of K-Mart's impending death?

I can tell you where a lot of people were. Waiting in a check-out line at K-Mart. The big retailer has been world-famous for slow service, whether in the aisles or at the cash register. One nearly had to set oneself afire to get a clerk's attention, and stores specialized in staffing one or two checkout lines, leaving the other eight empty. The cashiers were trained to improperly ring up purchases, and a price check could take a month or two, with the original checker resigning halfway through the job and his or her replacement not coming along for another six weeks.

This is not speculation. There's a K-Mart near me. My oldest son got his first real job there. He worked hard. They hugely overbooked him with hours because he would actually show up to work. He could have made management, but decided on music school instead. We still haven't figured that out. Meanwhile, when my wife alerted a cashier that her purchases had been improperly tabulated, she was offered a job on the spot. I myself have been tempted, during slow months in hackdom, to don the red vest of a K-Mart employee. It wouldn't have been so bad. I could have crept back to the supply room and found a place to nap, along with the rest of the staff.

But hitting that panic button is an ever more remote possibility. K-Mart is sinking, taking its blue-light specials,

Mr. Shiflett is co-author of *Christianity on Trial: Arguments Against Anti-Religious Bigotry* (Encounter Books).

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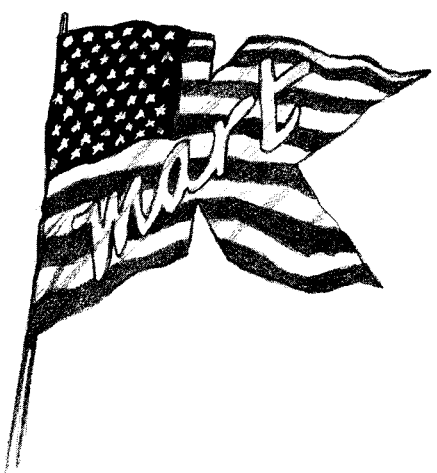
scrawny pantries, greasy food courts, shabby haberdashery, snoozing sales clerks, and Martha Stewart with it. Those distinctive K-Mart buildings will, in the fullness of time, find new occupants, perhaps housing a chain of Korean megachurches. Or perhaps they will be boarded up for a few years, then bulldozed.

But they will be forgotten. For some of us of a certain age, the crash of the K is a stunning development. Once upon a time, K-Mart seemed invincible—a true Battleship of Commerce. It was the Chevrolet set's Macy's. Its passing reminds us of the frailness of human existence. If K-Mart is mortal, so then are we all. So too, for that matter, is Wal-Mart.

Back when I was a kid, K-Mart was a big deal. It was like a huge supply ship sent to our town by benevolent capitalist missionaries. It was docked in a far section of town, probably because the store was so large you needed a large lot, like the kind you find in an industrial section. Our first eyewitness reports were from neighbors who returned from treks with eyes as wide as pie plates. K-Mart had everything you could dream about: a massive collection of tools, every fishing lure ever made, jon boats, huge bags of dog food, rivers of house paint, bushes and trees, birdbaths, incredible barbecuing machines, ladders that could reach the high eaves, washing machines that could scour week-old egg yolk, plus the most amazing machine of all: the color television set.

These were the days, it should be recalled, when television was a privilege, not a right. Kids were, generally speaking, not allowed to watch during the week, save for perhaps one or two shows if the grades were good. Sunday nights were reserved for Walt Disney and Ed Sullivan. Everyone had black-and-white sets, but we knew of the color option. Like most great breakthroughs, this was an upsetting development. Once the idea of color television took hold of one's mind, black and white seemed pathetic. It was like the difference between hot and cold food, indoor plumbing and the outdoor privy.

One Saturday, as memory serves, our neighborhood's most free-bucking family set out for the Big Store and rolled back a few hours later with a big color box. There wasn't much being broadcast in color, but that didn't matter. The status bar had been inalterably moved. Those of us stuck with black-and-whites were consumed by the dogs of envy. We were second-class citizens. We were falling behind in the evolutionary scheme. After all, which creature is the most advanced: one with color or one without? As it happens, the people of color also had the motor boats, stereos in their bedrooms, the riding lawnmowers. The males of this group obviously had the first shot at the best-looking girls. If we were to catch up, then one day we would have to make our own pilgrimage to K-Mart.



By Ismael Roldan

I can't remember my first visit, but none was more memorable than the trip that landed my first fly rod. This was in Colorado, where fly-fishing is something of a religion, surrounded by mystique and reverence, including an understanding that no one should approach the altar of the Great Trout without first spending as much money as possible on tackle and wading clothes.

Those of high-church sensibilities would go directly to the Orvis shop, where they would be tempted by bamboo rods costing thousands of bucks, reels costing many hundreds, and flies going for a couple of bucks a bug. They'd top off the trip with the trout world's version of Sunday best: a set of form-fitting neoprene chest waders so warm you could sleep in a snowdrift without experiencing the slightest chill.

Those of us of lower caste would make do elsewhere, with K-Mart filling the bill for the authentic bottom-feeders. I purchased the whole kitkabangkaboodle in a single, shrink-wrapped package: rod, reel, line, a selection of bugs, all for $18 or so. The waders, which also carried a sensible price tag, were big ugly rubber jobs held in place with button-on suspenders. A good clerk might be tempted to warn a customer that if you stepped into a deep hole, water would rush over the top, and your waders would suddenly weigh 200 pounds and would pull you under to certain, icy death. As it happened, I encountered no such person.

This was very sturdy gear—the pole was thick enough to whack baseballs with, and was about as long as one of those old radio antennas on a 1955 state-police cruiser. Maybe twice as long. I learned to cast with it, and eventually started catching fish, and it was all a glorious thing. No aspect was more pleasing than the fact that some high-churchers could not help casting a glare at this equipment, as if a rusty Dodge Dart were being driven up to the Ritz's valet-parking stand. One would hardly guess that the fisher's assignment is to trick an animal with a brain the size of a pea into biting a phony insect. Indeed, if fish are anything like humans they use only a small portion of their brains, meaning we had set ourselves against a sliver of fish intelligence about like the side of a contact lens. Landing them with a K-Mart monstrosity had a sense of cosmic justice about it.

Yet I eventually bought another rod—this time from the Price Club. It was a Korean model—very slender and sleek, and about ten times more expensive. (As some sportsmen have pointed out, fishing rods and women share some important characteristics.) I still use it. And it was stores like the Price Club—and especially the dread Wal-Mart and Sam's Club—that swallowed the once-big fish of our youth.

There are questions one asks oneself at a time of an old acquaintance's demise. Could I have done anything to prevent it? Was I loyal? Did I go the extra mile when trouble set in? In my case, the answer is no, no, and no. But the passing of K-Mart is yet another milestone on the road to oblivion. For whom does the blue-light-special bell toll? We shudder as we contemplate the inescapable answer. **NR**

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America's Unspecial Relationship

A cold look at the Saudis

RICHARD LOWRY

UNTIL recently, the official position of the government of Saudi Arabia was that it remained unproven whether there were any Saudi citizens involved in the Sept. 11 attacks. They meant "unproven" not in the sense that anyone really doubted that 15 of the 19 hijackers were Saudis, but in the sense that the Saudis would really have preferred that no one take notice of that fact. The Saudi reaction to every terrorist attack against the U.S. to which the kingdom has had a connection in recent years has been a mixture of avoidance, dishonesty, and passive aggression.

The Saudis beheaded the suspects in the November 1995 bombing of the U.S. mission to the Saudi National Guard in Riyadh before the FBI could question them. They frustrated the U.S. investigation into the 1996 Khobar Towers bombing, almost certainly to cover up evidence of Iranian involvement (the Saudis wanted to keep the U.S. from retaliating against Iran, at a time when the kingdom was cozying up to the mullahs). In general, the Saudis have acted like they have something to hide because they do—the contradiction at the center of their relationship with the U.S.

Would it have made sense for the U.S. to be allied with the Soviet Union during the Cold War? That is almost, although not quite, the question confronting the United States in its relations with Saudi Arabia. It would be a more precise analogy if the Soviets had funded the international Communist movement at the same time they disavowed any hostile intent toward the West, and, in fact, depended on the American military for their very existence. This tangled arrangement with the Saudis could survive so long as it wasn't subjected to scrutiny—in other words, so long as it existed in the pre–Sept. 11 world.

Mutual strategic and mercenary interests between the U.S. and the Saudis have long submerged the significance of the peculiar, intolerant, and anti-Western beliefs at the core of the Saudi monarchy. During the 1980s, at our request, the Saudis drove down oil prices in an attempt to starve the Soviets of revenue. That was no small thing. Neither are the American business opportunities in the kingdom—oil, weapons sales, etc.—to be lightly dismissed. But such considerations now pale against the cultural contradiction between the two countries. A variant of the Saudi ideology, after all, has incinerated and crushed 3,000 Americans.

The Saudi regime must be made to choose between the aggressive Islam at its heart and its friendship with the U.S. If it chooses the wrong way, we should contemplate the end of the House of Saud. There is no reason—if it comes to that—that one corrupt, self-serving Arabian clan can't be replaced by another.

HOW THE HOUSE WAS BUILT

Saudi Arabia is less a country than a family business, and, in fact, is named after its ruling family. In the 18th century, Muhammad bin Saud determined to conquer all of Arabia in league with a radical Islamic scholar, Abdul Wahhab. As British journalist Simon Henderson has put it, "The strategy was simple: those who did not accept the Wahhabi interpretation of Islam were either killed or forced to flee." Weathering the assassinations and betrayals typical of Arab politics, the al-Saud clan eventually prevailed, with King Abdul Aziz (commonly known as Ibn Saud) founding the modern state in 1932.

Ibn Saud relied on a Wahhabi religious brotherhood as his military vanguard, although the "battles" he fought were hardly worthy of the name. Ibn Saud captured Riyadh from another tribe, for instance, with a raiding party of 50 men. He fathered 44 sons by 22 wives (exclusive of the concubines and girls constantly offered to him as gestures of hospitality), and they have become the ruling flower of Saudi Arabia. It's as if America at its founding had been named Washingtonland, and ruled forevermore by the polygamous spawn of George Washington.

Saudi Arabia was never colonized by Western powers,

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since occupying large swaths of desert in the interior of the Arabian Peninsula never had much appeal. And so it never experienced any of the beneficial touches of European civilization. It instead has always been characterized by its backwardness and irrationality. Slavery was abolished only in 1962. Sheik Bin Baz, eventually the grand mufti of Saudi Arabia, issued a fatwa in 1966 ruling that the world is flat. Compared with most modern nations, Saudi Arabia is a lunarscape: no political parties, no trade unions, no movie theaters.

It would qualify as just another Third World backwater if it weren't for its two major exports: oil, of course, but, just as important, Wahhabism. What sets the House of Saud apart from the other, much more benign monarchies in the region is that it is an ideological regime, devoted to the enforcement and propagation of the Wahhabi creed. Wahhabism is a strict Islamic fundamentalism, formulated not in the yeasty mix of ethnicities and traditions that Islam encountered in its initial expansion, but in isolated, culturally arid Arabia. (Stephen Schwartz has written eloquently about it, including in NR—see "Liberation, Not Containment," Nov. 19, 2001.)

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Since the late 1970s, when radicals briefly seized Mecca's Grand Mosque—giving the regime a scare—and as declining oil revenues have eroded standards of living, the regime has forged a social compact with the Wahhabi clerics. It has co-opted them into the government by giving them, as Tel Aviv University research fellow Joshua Teitelbaum has noted, "extensive responsibilities in areas important to them, including the judiciary; religious education; guidance and the spread of Islam overseas." This last area of responsibility, when combined with buckets of cash from oil revenue, is a toxic mix. Imagine Mullah Omar with billions of dollars of "walking-around money."

Saudi Arabia has become the biggest funder of madrassahs—radicalizing Islamic schools—in Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, and Yemen. It is the biggest supporter of the North American Islamic Trust, which builds the mosques and appoints the imams in the U.S. Similar outfits exist in most other countries in the world—all of which gives the Saudis crucial leverage over the character of Islam. Meanwhile, lavishly funded Saudi charities provide a breeding ground for radicals, and sometimes have direct connections to terrorists. The Saudis, in short, have created a radical Muslim network from the Philippines to Chicago.

AN END TO DEFERENCE

In the wake of Sept. 11, all of this should be unacceptable. And so should the traditional American deference to the regime. Unfortunately, the U.S.—which publicly maintains that it is now getting at least sullen cooperation from the Saudis—has yet to get entirely beyond the days when Texas oilmen viewed the kingdom as an exotic playground where obsequiousness always paid off in hard cash. In 1990, with hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops gathering in Saudi Arabia to defend the kingdom, President Bush was forbidden to say Thanksgiving grace on Saudi soil. (He instead sat down for Thanksgiving dinner with American sailors on the USS *Nassau*—in international waters.)

For eight years, Clinton administration policy in the region was itself a sophisticated form of groveling, buying into the Arab idea that nothing was wrong in the Middle East that couldn't be fixed by a peace deal between the Israelis and Palestinians. The administration reasoned that such a deal would take away the "excuse" the Arab governments had for not reforming, and free up resources hitherto devoted to the military to domestic change. But this policy got it backwards. It is the nature of the Arab regimes itself that is the problem, not the fact that they have a ready scapegoat for their failures in Israel.

The Bush administration isn't going to make the same mistake. It risks instead falling for a different delusion: that stability requires accepting the Arab status quo. But, as the indispensable Daniel Pipes points out, the notion that Middle Eastern regimes are perpetually on the verge of collapse is outdated at best. A series of coups rocked the region in the 1950s. But with the exception of Iran, since the 1970s continuity in power has been the rule. Presidents and kings die in office, and a dictator like Syria's Assad is able to pass the mantle on to his son.

The House of Saud conforms to this general picture of stability. It has proven adept at maintaining its power for the last 70 years. There are something on the order of 6,000 princes, an enormous ready-built nomenklatura with an incentive to maintain the current system. They also constitute essentially a dictatorship by committee, operating by a rough consensus that doesn't prevent internal power struggles, but does ensure a certain basic stability.

Saudi protests, therefore, about how the regime is threatened by the radical unrest created by the presence of U.S. troops on "holy" soil should not be taken too seriously. Such complaints, among other things, are galling, considering that the Saudis have always depended on foreign protection. After World War II, it was the British who defended the Gulf states until the early 1970s. Then the regime turned to French commandos to help crush the radicals who took over the Grand Mosque in 1979. And, of course, there were the Americans in the Persian Gulf War.

A NEW, POST-SADDAM WORLD

The controversy over the U.S. presence in Saudi Arabia, however, is important. It is part of a strategic shift in the region that is making old assumptions obsolete, and so making current U.S. policy a basket of contradictions. Foremost among them is the fact that U.S. troops are in Saudi Arabia to protect the House of Saud from an Iraqi threat the princes no longer really fear. When they invited 500,000 Americans to defend them in 1990, these royals feared for their lives.

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Now, with the Iraqi threat no longer looming, they probably won't let us use Saudi bases for the only task we need them for—toppling Saddam Hussein.

This might be because the Saudis worry that the U.S. is not really serious about confronting Saddam; so they prefer not to risk being identified with a lackluster effort that doesn't finish the job. But things, in the long run, might actually be worse for the Saudis if we do finish the job in Iraq. Installing a functional, Western-oriented government in Baghdad would dramatically increase U.S. leverage in the region.

A decent government in Iraq could become a model for the Arab world. It would provide a boost to reformers in Iran. And it might chasten Yasser Arafat, who typically moderates his behavior at times of Western assertion. It thus would serve to embarrass the Saudis—who, in comparison with a reformist government in Iraq, would look more backwards than ever—and possibly disrupt the Iranian-Palestinian radical axis on which the Saudis have increasingly looked favorably.

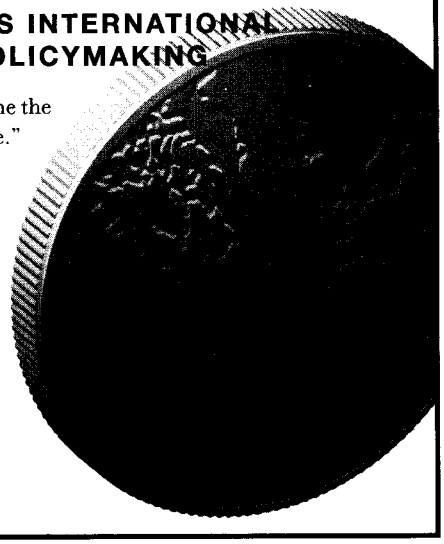
Here is another contradiction: Our allies the Saudis, both by resisting U.S. efforts to confront Saddam and by moving closer to Iran, are beginning to operate in opposition to the decade-old U.S. policy of "dual containment" (of Iraq and Iran) in the Persian Gulf. The de facto ruler of Saudi Arabia, Crown Prince Abdullah, is deeply suspicious of the United States. Islamist opposition groups have tended to exempt him from their criticisms of the royal family, and he has undertaken significant efforts to warm relations with Iran.

A successful U.S. effort to topple Saddam and install a friendly regime in Baghdad could cut through this tangle, by making the U.S.-Saudi alliance far less important. In many ways, Iraq seems a more natural candidate for friendship with the U.S. than does Saudi Arabia, despite the Saddam interlude. Iraqis have traditionally been a sophisticated and commerce-oriented people, with few of the traditions of Islamic radicalism of the Saudis. Also, the Iraqis could withdraw from OPEC and begin fully pumping oil into the world market (see my "*Really* Big Oil," Dec. 31,

KENNETH W. DAM

THE RULES OF THE GLOBAL GAME

A NEW LOOK AT US INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICYMAKING



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2001), thus reducing Saudi market power and one of the incentives for the U.S. to appease the regime.

As for U.S. troops, it is yet another of the contradictions of the current situation that it is Osama bin Laden's prescription that makes the most strategic sense in the long run: pulling out of Saudi Arabia. The Saudis wouldn't let us fly missions against the Taliban from Saudi territory, and are resistant to letting us fly bombing missions to enforce the no-fly zones in Iraq. What use are our bases? In a post-Saddam world, the U.S. could withdraw its security guarantee from the Saudis, fulfill its basing requirements elsewhere—Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, even Iraq—and give the Saudis some time to think about the Bush doctrine: Supporting and tolerating terrorists makes you a terrorist.

This new U.S. posture in the region would give us the leverage necessary to force a wrenching change in Saudi Arabia: an end to the subsidies that spread radical Islam throughout the world. Such changes are possible, as Musharraf has demonstrated in Pakistan (see David Pryce-Jones's piece, following). But Musharraf has acted only under extreme pressure from the United States and India, of the sort the Saudis are unlikely to feel absent this new dispensation.

THE WAY OF THE SHAH?

Perhaps the Saudis will actually work to bleach the Islamist poison out of their system and eventually assume the character of a non-ideological and reforming monarchy, such as Jordan. But the Saudis are more likely to scratch and claw in defense of the status quo. They will raise the example of Iran. Does the U.S., they will ask, really want to push the House of Saud overboard the way it did the shah?

But there is a distinction to be made. It would be a mistake to risk the continuation of the House of Saud in pursuit of a general Western do-goodism, say pushing for women's rights. But getting the Saudis to cut off funding for their radical Islamic network overseas should be a central goal of the war on terrorism. If this does endanger the House of Saud—which, again, seems unlikely—so be it. Would it be a disaster if a radical regime took custody of 25 percent of the world's oil? It could certainly mean disruptions in the short term, but any Saudi regime must maintain its oil fields and sell its oil. The first requires Western expertise, the second Western markets.

In any case, a radical Saudi regime—either a mutation of the House of Saud or a radical successor—bent on supporting terrorism and threatening the world economy would be an open invitation for U.S. intervention. There's no reason that the House of Saud should own the Islamic holy places forever. Just 70 years ago, the Hashemites—now on the throne in Jordan—controlled Mecca and Medina, as they had for almost a millennium. The holy cities were taken from them by a combination of inspired banditry and good luck. They could either revert back to the Hashemites or go to some other Muslim authority.

If the U.S. is willing to contemplate such scenarios instead of allowing them to become an excuse for timidity, the chances of the Saudis' becoming warmly compliant to our demands become that much better. Stability in the Middle East may be important, but it should be on America's terms, not that of the Saudis. Certainly not after Sept. 11. **NR**

Ataturk II?

Pakistan's Musharraf has a chance to be a great man

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

GEN. PERVEZ MUSHARRAF is every inch a professional soldier. On October 12, 1999, he was army chief of staff in Pakistan and flying home from a visit to Sri Lanka. He had recently fired a senior officer for meeting the Pakistani prime minister Nawaz Sharif without permission. Musharraf was pleased with himself; but Sharif felt insulted. A power struggle was underway.

Calculating that Musharraf couldn't do much about it in mid-air, Sharif fired him. Wrong. Landing at Karachi airport, Musharraf arranged a coup, put Sharif on trial, and sent him into exile in Saudi Arabia. Musharraf installed himself in Sharif's place. That's the way politics are conducted pretty much throughout the Muslim world. Personalities in this context are real, while principles are nebulous.

The military is the one and only institution in Pakistan that can be said to function. It is unwise to tamper with it. Military coups occur at regular intervals, and the country has had long spells under martial law—without which it would have disintegrated into anarchy. An assortment of different peoples and languages are engaged in permanent jostling, without benefit of democracy or the rule of law. Government writ does not hold in the northwest frontier where al-Qaeda and maybe Osama bin Laden could be sheltering. In major cities like Lahore and Karachi, people die regularly in obscure shootings, whether committed by political extremists or criminals. Civil society does not exist. What has brought these people together is only the chance that they are all Muslims.

In the words of a famous clerihew, that peculiar but pointed verse form, "George the Third / Ought never to have occurred. / One can only wonder / At so grotesque a blunder." Pakistan ought never to have occurred either, and one can only wonder at the way the British manufactured it without regard to what they themselves believed, and ignoring the experience of two centuries of empire.

Governing the Indian subcontinent, the British were careful to keep the balance between Hindus and Muslims. Although predisposed by temperament to favor the Muslims—who seemed to them livelier and more capable than the Hindus—they administered the law impartially, and laid the basis for the democracy that India itself is now perpetuating. Responsible Muslim leaders were on equal terms with their Hindu counterparts, and Muslim extremism appeared to be a thing of the past.

At the start of the 20th century, the British honored a promise to initiate a public debate about the coming of self-

Mr. Pryce-Jones, an NR senior editor, is the author of, among many other books, *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs*, just reprinted by Ivan R. Dee.

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rule for the peoples of the empire. In a reaction that surprised them, this provoked an identity crisis everywhere. From India to Egypt to Ireland, the resulting wave of nationalism is still working itself out. Hindus had their National Congress, and Muslims should have been encouraged to join it in a power-sharing spirit. Instead, one of the viceroy's advisers, a man with the resonant name of William Shakespear, suggested that Muslims should form a counterpart, known as the Muslim League.

Out of such seeds were to grow the division of the subcontinent into two religious and national communities contending for supremacy in fear of each other; then three countries (with Bangladesh splitting away from Pakistan—probably one day there will be a fourth country, Kashmir); and so incessant warfare; and now finally a nuclear standoff. In 1947, the British agreed to partition and immediately scuttled home ashamed of themselves, to allow all on the ground to do their worst and finalize the horrors to come. Millions of people were left at one another's throat.

Ataturk by Roman Genn

Why independent India succeeded while independent Pakistan failed is a question inviting many answers, having to do with religion and culture, expectation, circumstances, bad government, and various imponderables. In one of his penetrating phrases, V. S. Naipaul has written that to most Muslims the state that had been won out of the subcontinent came "as a kind of religious ecstasy, something beyond reason, beyond quibbles about borders and constitutions." Nothing to do with democracy, the Muslim League and other political parties have been so many religious or ethnic mass movements whereby ambitious individuals lever themselves into absolute power.

IN BED WITH DEVILS

The ruling elite has mercilessly exploited the religious ecstasy that came with the birth of the state. Pakistan today is second only to Saudi Arabia as a source of Islamic militancy. Islam provides an identity above ethnicity, tribe, or clan. Some 7,000 madrassahs, or religious seminaries, fanaticize otherwise uneducated boys by teaching them to memorize the Koran in Arabic (which is not their language, and which they do not understand), and no other subjects at all. Thousands of mullahs preach incendiary sermons in order to mobilize the mob against unbelievers. In the supposed cause of Islam, successive rulers have sponsored and exploited a variety of militant groups, notably the Taliban in Afghanistan, and Jaish-e-Muhammad and Lashkar-e-Taiba to terrorize Kashmir. The military and its most powerful agency, the Inter-Services Intelligence force, the ISI, exploited Islamic extremism by means of a doctrine of "strategic depth" whose purpose was to spread Pakistani influence in Kashmir and throughout Central Asia.

Reckless adventure of this sort has generated corruption and a foreign policy based on terror, carrying the recurrent risk of war with India and other neighbors. Every method, including assassination, has been used to silence intellectual opponents and dissidents, and to cow the population at large. An undeclared civil war rages between Islamic militants and secular-minded moderates. Equally caught up in its vision of religious ecstasy and equally indifferent to the fate of the masses, the ruling elite in Saudi Arabia has oil wealth at its disposal, while in Pakistan debt servicing already accounts for over half the budget. The country is on the edge of bankruptcy. Two emotional foreign policies fused when Saudi Arabia financed Pakistan to build the "Islamic nuclear bomb" that destabilizes the region far and wide.

Musharraf's coup was bloodless, and widely welcomed in long-suffering and lawless Pakistan. To brake the descent of his country into the abyss, he would need all the powers at his disposal, however arbitrary and undemocratic these might be. The Clinton administration's reaction, however, was to "seek the earliest possible restoration of democracy in Pakistan." The State Department spokesman said that "Pakistan's constitution must be respected, not only in the letter but in its spirit." This was fantasy, as though the Pakistani constitution were like the American. In Pakistan, the constitution is what the ruler, the army, and the ISI decide it is. The British were equally comical and ignorant in their response. Robin Cook, the foreign secretary at the time, deplored the coup, and Peter Hain, a reliably wrong-headed junior minister, gave the empty boast that "Britain will act very firmly to ensure Pakistan receives no international support and is penalized as strongly as possible diplomatically."

For Islamic militants in Pakistan, the events of September 11 signified that their hour of triumph had come. In a spasm of religious ecstasy, thousands rushed to join the Taliban and al-Qaeda, and many tens of thousands mobilized in the cities for demonstrations that were almost uprisings. Musharraf at once understood that he was between a rock and a hard place: He had to decide which side he was on in the undeclared civil war between Islamic extremists and secular moderates. This was nothing less than an existential choice over the future of Pakistan.

All other leaders in Muslim countries have confronted this same choice about the ultimate role of Islam and Islamic militants. They have made sure to assert full control by such means as setting up an official ministry responsible for the appointment of mullahs and preachers, and nationalizing religious property. Should skillful maneuvers of this kind fail, they have not hesitated to suppress and eliminate their Islamists with whatever violent means available, including massacres, judicial executions, and life sentences in prison. What they cannot tolerate is the threat posed to their dictatorship by Islamic extremists.

THE TURKISH PRECEDENT

Mustapha Kemal, otherwise known as Ataturk, or "father of the Turks," set the first and most striking precedent. The Ottoman Empire had been the foremost Muslim power in the world until its defeat in the First War. The one and only successful Ottoman general in that war, Ataturk afterwards staged a bloodless coup to seize power for himself and to use it in order to constitute modern Turkey out of the wreckage. Islam, in his view, was a total obstacle to modernization and had to be reformed out of all recognition. Andrew Mango, his authorita-

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tive biographer, calls him a freethinker, and quotes him saying to a reporter, "I have no religion, and at times I wish all religions at the bottom of the sea. He is a weak ruler who needs religion to uphold his people . . . My people are going to learn the principles of democracy, the dictates of truth, and the teachings of science. Superstition must go. Let them worship as they will; every man can follow his own conscience."

The aim was to disestablish Islam. A new Ministry of Religious Affairs allowed Ataturk to administer Islam and the mullahs for his purposes. Using strong-arm methods where necessary, he closed the madrassahs and suppressed the extremist orders of dervishes. He is said personally to have punched recalcitrant mullahs and to have ordered the destruction of a mosque that spoiled his view. His fondness for alcohol and womanizing was no secret. Traditional Islamic dress, including the veil for women, was outlawed. After he had finished, Islam was no longer the official state religion, and the foundations of secularism were well and truly laid. Turkey has since changed its government through democratic election, as Ataturk intended. True, in recent times there have been military coups and interludes of martial law. True too, Islamic extremists have made a comeback, and even formed a government, and the secular parties have resorted to undemocratic stratagems to keep them out of politics. Even with these imperfections, Turkey today may claim to be the one and only Muslim country with any democratic credentials.

Musharraf is now in the Ataturk position, a dictator deploying absolute power for the apparently paradoxical ends of modernizing and democratizing. Like Ataturk, he has to work in chaotic conditions to create a nation-state capable of dealing with the difficulties it faces. He made his existential choice when he broke with the Taliban, joined the American coalition, and opened local air bases to American aircraft. He has also purged senior generals in the army and the ISI who were Islamists and promoters of the "strategic depth" doctrine that has wreaked such havoc. He has banned Jaish-e-Muhammad and Lashkar-e-Taiba and several other terror groups as well, closing 500 of their offices and ordering the tracking of their funds with the aim of freezing them. In the most fraught part of this U-turn, he has had arrested an estimated 2,000 militants who until now were secretly subsidized and encouraged by the ISI. He describes madrassahs correctly as places that "propagate hatred and violence," and in the future they will have to register with the authorities and teach modern courses. Rival politicians and influential opinion-makers who hitherto have criticized Musharraf for usurping democratic rule are now coming around to him because Pakistan has changed course and will not become an extremist Islamist state. Democracy, he told the nation in a televised broadcast, is the long-term objective.

Islam and democracy, as Ataturk discovered, prove to be incompatible ideals. Musharraf looks set to become the second dictator to break political and militant Islam for the sake of democracy. This requires personal courage, and the successful outcome of the American war on terror. Democratizing Pakistan, he would also be in a position to abate the grotesque blunder of partitioning British India on religious lines. It is a tall order, but he has a chance to go down in history as a great man. **NR**

Old World Charms, and Alarms

Understanding those difficult Europeans

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

FROM sea to shining sea, the cry goes up: "Why are the Europeans so awful? Why do they nitpick at the U.S., in between intervals of being saved by America from totalitarianism? Why are they already turning sour on the war on terrorism? What's wrong with the SOBs?"

Whole libraries, written mainly by Europeans, have been devoted to this theme. It offers a rich field of inquiry. So it may seem eccentric to begin by casting doubt, or at least qualification, on its main premise; but it must be done, for in the post–September 11 crisis the Europeans have not been as bad as you might think from a cursory glance.

THEY'RE NOT SO BAD?

First of all, it's not true that in fighting the war on terrorism, America is "alone." Almost every European nation offered help, including military help, shortly after the hijacked planes hit the World Trade Center. British, French, Turkish, and other NATO troops are in Afghanistan policing the cease-fire, and a small German fleet, with up to 1,800 sailors, is stationed off the Horn of Africa, ready to assist the U.S. if it should intervene in Somalia. It is true that the military heavy lifting in Afghanistan was done principally by the U.S., the Northern Alliance, and a small number of British special forces—but that's because the U.S. needed little help, and refused most European offers.

It is also true that the Europeans, having radically reduced defense expenditures, have little useful to offer—a serious drawback, but not evidence of hostility to the U.S. And even the upsurge of European (especially British) indignation at the allegedly harsh treatment of detainees in Cuba—which seems to have been the main catalyst for American indignation towards Europe—looks different in the daylight. Given the apparently shocking photographs released by the Pentagon without a sensible explanation, the initial humanitarian reaction was not unreasonable. It was transformed into an anti-American fiesta by a few newspapers, but most of these fell silent or retracted when their own reporters visited Cuba and reported on the comfortable conditions there. Those journalists who kept up the barrage of accusations were either the usual anti-American suspects left over from the Cold War or overextended hacks seeking to defend their initial error. Throughout this brouhaha, the British government maintained officially that its own investigation had found the detainees to be decently cared for. And the British public, according to polls, approved of their treatment by the astounding margin of 89–11 percent. In short, it is absurd to portray America as a lonely Atlas. If Atlas is

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indeed lonely, that is because he is so much taller than everyone else.

Another complaint is that President Bush's declaration of war on the "axis of evil" has been subjected to skeptical criticism by Europeans. True enough. But there is nothing wrong—and a lot right—with that. If governments are asked for moral or practical support in what might become a military action against sovereign powers, they have a positive duty to ask such questions as: "What exactly do you intend to do? How much support can you count on from neighboring powers for military action? What defense or counterattack is the axis capable of mounting?" And so on. If such questions have not already been asked (and answered) within the U.S. administration, then the Europeans do us a favor by asking them now, before we have irrevocably committed ourselves. If such questions have been asked (and answered), as I believe, then we should have no great difficulty in persuading them that we are acting prudently. Americans would have cause for complaint if they reasonably suspected that European skepticism was a disguise for determined opposition; but there is no evidence as yet that Europeans have done anything more than raise serious questions about a genuinely bold and therefore controversial proposal.

Furthermore, the irritation of some Americans at such questions arises from what a critic of Hemingway once called "false hair on the chest"—the unworthy tendency in American popular culture to regard all doubts, hesitations, and second thoughts as a disguise for cowardice. If Europeans save us from miscalculation, however irritatingly "sophisticated" they may sound in doing so, we are in their debt.

A DEEP CULTURAL DIVISION

These qualifications having been established, let me now concede that many Europeans have, indeed, recovered their usual hostility to the U.S. as their initial sympathetic reaction to September 11 has worn off. They have been grudging in their support for the U.S. war effort, quick to find (or suspect) faults, and both supercilious and condescending in their frequent criticisms of U.S. "arrogance" and "unilateralism."

These annoying tendencies, moreover, are plainly not accidental but rooted in differences of political culture. On issues as various as arms control and the deference owed to international bodies such as the U.N., most (continental) Europeans see things differently from most Americans.

There are, admittedly, quislings in both camps—Americans who think Europeans are more sophisticated in their international analyses and Europeans who believe the U.S. is more realistic—but the broad divergence of outlook is real, and can be traced back a very long way. In his essay on Hallam's *Constitutional History*, Macaulay pointed out that the Stuart attempt to impose the divine right of kings in England was the one failed example of a general European movement towards autocratic centralizing monarchies. Everywhere else in Europe, medieval parliaments lost their powers to these modernizing autocracies; in England, the king had his head cut off—literally in 1649 and constitutionally in 1688. America carried this process still further, decapitating the colonial order of authority in 1776 and the southern plantocracy in 1865. Social historians like the late Alan Macfarlane and Ferdinand Mount would interpret these high political developments as arising in part from the wide property ownership in England and the U.S.—far wider than in continental Europe—that dates back to the early Middle Ages. And recent research shows that, under the snobbish patina of *Upstairs, Downstairs* and *Gosford Park*, social mobility was extensive throughout the English-speaking world.

■

The broad divergence of outlook between Americans and Europeans is real, and can be traced back a very long way.

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The American (and, to a lesser but still vital extent, the British) state is the creature of society. Government exists to serve the various interests that make up society—lords, gentry, commons, business, the professions, agriculture—and to oversee the reconciliation of their differences. It does not seek to shape or order society in accord with some grand plan. Its powers are lent by the people and limited either by explicit constitutional provisions (the U.S.) or by constitutional traditions (Britain). Whether those powers are divided among the three branches of American government or united in the Crown-in-Parliament, they locate responsibility for decision-making very clearly. Yet the laws that govern all are not only passed "downward" by the legislature but also subject to "upward" revision by judges drawing on common-law precedents. From his centralizing standpoint, Marx rightly derided this kind of limited and decentralized government, describing the House of Commons as merely "the executive committee of the bourgeoisie." But it has proved both strong and flexible enough to allow the U.S. and Britain to be the engines of dramatic social and economic changes without breaking apart politically.

By contrast, the major European states, in particular France, see themselves as the source of all legitimate power and thus as the shapers of society. Governments seek to prescribe social and economic development as far as possible in accordance with some kind of plan, and they see disputes between different social groups as a threat to the state's authority. Civil law in the Roman tradition allows governments to lay down the law, literally, to the rest of society. And though power is concentrated in government, it is often distributed across several institutions so that it becomes difficult to locate responsibility for particular decisions. Governments of this kind appear strong and often rack up great achievements, but they are also curiously fragile and break under pressure of social change. Thus, the modern British Constitution dates from 1689, the American from 1788, and the French from 1958.

In contemporary politics, the most striking difference between continental Europe and Anglo-America is the

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power of elites. America is the only real social democracy in the world today—that is, a nation where ordinary people feel that they have as much right to a serious political opinion as their betters and the elites in practice have to agree with them. Popular opinion in Britain is only slightly less strong. But in France, Germany, and the institutions of the European Union, elites take major political decisions and impose them on the voters without consulting them. In Europe, the political elites feel that the people(s) have no right to obstruct the realization of the European dream.

Fear of the people and of democracy explains much about both modern European politics and the attitude of Europeans to America. European elites dislike open political conflict—the politics of clashing values—and its ritualization in bodies like the House of Commons, because they fear it will lead to chaos and disorder. They like proportional representation and coalitions because they ensure that governments will be chosen by the politicians after the election rather than by the voters on Election Day. Such governments are permanent and stable institutions that, after elections, remain in office, merely shedding one party and absorbing another to reflect the shifts in party preferences. Elites dislike nations and national sovereignty because they vest political decisions in institutions the people know, observe, and can ultimately control; they like international bodies and the multiplication of overlapping institutions because these make it hard for the voters to keep track of who decided what when. Elites like "party lists" because they give the party leadership the choice of candidates; they dislike U.S. primaries, which vest that choice in the voters. In short, elites want politics to be a quiet private game conducted out of sight of the voters; the Anglo-American tradition is for it to be a sport—like racing or the Super Bowl—in which the voters participate passionately but accept the results after the smoke has cleared.

If your political preferences are those of European elites, you will almost certainly dislike the U.S. It will strike you as—you have heard these adjectives before—"crass," "vulgar," and "materialistic." You will deplore its cultural pollution (not always unreasonably) because it reflects the taste of the great unwashed rather than that of the cultivated. You will regard its economic policy as overly reflective of the self-interest of provincial and corporate Babbitts rather than of the impartial wisdom of the *grandes écoles*. Above all, you will fear that its foreign policy will be based on jingoism, super-patriotism, and "cowboy" assertiveness rather than the cold realistic willingness to compromise with unpleasant regimes for mutual advantage. And when the U.S. refuses to be constrained by international rules you favor, you will denounce its deplorable "unilateralism."

None of this need worry the U.S., as long as the Europeans who believe such things continue to be divided among several polities, and their errors mainly confined to domestic politics and lost in an Atlantic alliance dominated by the U.S. If they become the underlying wisdom of a new superpower, however, then America will find itself opposed at every turn by a formidable rival with a foreign policy that crusades for "European values" over American ones. So why are we encouraging this development? **NR**

Spam Tastes Gross

Degradation—and illegality—in your in-box

JAY NORDLINGER

IT'S a disgusting topic, and one that most people would rather turn away from—which is just how the pornographers like it, of course. They would rather we just shuddered and threw up our hands. This goes for all pornography, but I am concerned for the moment with the kind that arrives by e-mail, cluttering and blighting your in-box.

How's your e-mail been lately? Mine's been pretty foul. I get between five and ten porno e-mails a day. Others get upwards of 50—through no fault of their own, mind you. Let me provide some choice recent samples from my in-box. This isn't "nice" porn; it isn't pretty ladies and men posing on European beaches. It's sick stuff, with a very heavy emphasis on children, incest, and bestiality.

One e-mail has on the subject line, "Family." And inside: "Incest at Its Finest. Grandparents give grandkids sex lessons. Dad & Daughter. Young girl cannot control her urges." One e-mail address is "teeniesuckathon." Another e-mail has on its subject line, "Sorry about the late Christmas gift" (this came in early January). Inside: "Girls F***ing Animals After School" and "Teen Sluts Covered in Sperm." Another e-mail informs, "We have selected a list of the 25 best pay sites in the preteen industry."

Note "preteen": In all likelihood, this is no idle boast, as anyone in the anti-child-porn field will tell you. Preteen means preteen. And that is not only abhorrent, but illegal—a crime.

A great many people are embarrassed about being the mere recipient of these e-mails. They're apt to think they've done something wrong: that they perhaps were on a naughty site, and thus ensnared for all time. And if they squawk about the porn they're receiving, others might say, "Gee, why are *you* so interested? Turn you on a little, huh?" (Anti-porn activists get this frequently.) Some people are also afraid of being thought prudish or illiberal if they complain about porn: These things are part of the big, wicked world, and there's the Bill of Rights, of course.

But it bears repeating: Child porn is *illegal*, and so, for that matter, is "obscenity," whose definition is a lot less slippery than some people think, or than some interested parties pretend. Many people want to do more than "just hit delete" ("JHD," as Internetters put it). If the material is sufficiently bad—particularly when it involves children—they want to *do something*, not just sit there helpless. And they can.

For one thing, they can contact the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children in Washington. Four years ago, the center set up what they call the Cyber Tip Line, found at www.cybertipline.com. There a concerned citizen can make a report. He can say, "I found something fishy. Looks like it involves kids. Here it is—please check it out." People can also go directly to a Justice Department website,

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www.usdoj.gov/criminal/ceos/report.htm, where further information on reporting child porn is available. No one has to sit helpless, if he doesn't want to.

At the National Center, there are not only the outfit's own staff but federal agents from the Postal Service, Customs, and the FBI. All of these scour the Internet and deal with citizen tips. According to John Rabun, chief operating officer of the center, the more tips about one site—or one "spammed" e-mail—the better. "It's the old squeaky-wheel thing." Law enforcement is making plenty of arrests off the tips; the center has been receiving about 900 a week. But the arrests, says Rabun, constitute just a drop in the bucket—which is better than nothing at all, of course.

A HERO FOR OUR TIMES

One citizen who is very definitely "on the case" is Julie Posey, a homemaker in Colorado. She's a heroine of the anti-child-exploitation movement, its archangel, or avenging angel, its Joan of Arc. When you read about her and talk with her, you think, "They should really make a movie about her." And they are: A company has just bought the rights to her story.

Julie Posey's role in life is to monitor the Internet looking for the abuse of children, sniffing out the pedophiles who lurk there. Her entire operation is detailed and resident at www.pedowatch.org. "My mission," she says on her site, "is to protect children online from the predators who abuse them. I do this by receiving tips from people on the Internet about suspicious activity that they have found and following up on the information. I then identify the suspects involved and pass the information along with all evidence to law enforcement for further investigation." Her work has led to more than 20 arrests and convictions. Nothing gives her more satisfaction than to see a pedophile hauled away. The average pedophile, she says, will rape or otherwise molest 200 children in his "career." Every time she busts someone, or leads to that bust, she thinks, "Well, that's X number of children saved from that particular pedophile." The drops in the bucket add up.

Posey herself was raped when she was an adolescent; the rapist got 90 days. He raped again, of course: and then was put away for longer. Posey is fearless in going about her work. Others, she understands, can't be so fearless. "People are afraid to contact police," she says. "They want to make anonymous tips." They're sort of paralyzed. Since her efforts have been publicized—there was a profile recently in the *Los Angeles Times*—people have flooded her website, wanting her to act on this or that offense. She can hardly keep up. She herself uses www.cybertipline.com. A better situation, of course, would be a nation of Julie Poseys, thousands of citizens who get off their duffs when they spot child porn or suspect child endangerment. Some people—such as defense attorneys—view Posey as a "vigilante" and "busybody." But she has earned the admiration and gratitude of law enforcement. Professional badge-wearers can't conduct this war alone.

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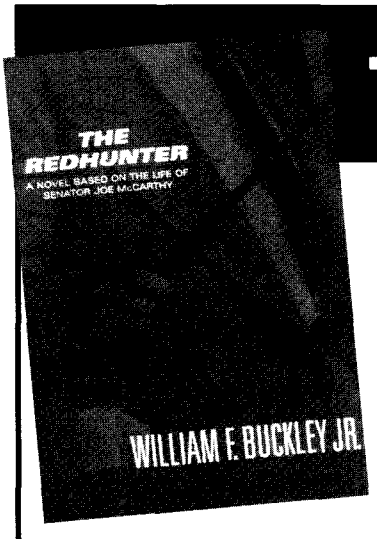
It seems bad enough that there are countless producers and purveyors of child porn—but then it hits you that there are many more countless consumers of it.

■

Child porn has exploded in recent years. Never has there been so much of it; never has it been so widely disseminated. There are *at least* 100,000 child-porn sites—not just pornographic sites, mind you, but sites devoted entirely to child porn. The demand for the stuff seems insatiable. As you investigate these matters, it seems bad enough that there are countless producers and purveyors of child porn—but then it hits you that there are *many more* countless *consumers* of it. One's neighbors, presumably. The problem is far larger than the average person imagines; law enforcement and activists sometimes have to fight incredulity.



THE REDHUNTER

Bill Buckley's critically acclaimed, engrossing 1999 novel about one of the most controversial figures in American political history—Senator Joseph McCarthy—and the turbulent events spawned by his anti-Communist crusade. $25.00/hardcover.

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Much of the porn is circulated via "spam," which is the slang term for (the more formal) "unsolicited commercial e-mail," or UCE. Spam is a bear to combat. There are many "filter" systems, but they work imperfectly. Once you're on a list, it can be impossible to "unsubscribe"; they make you jump through hoops, and by the time you spend a couple of minutes on it, you may be no better off. It's rather futile to "block" offensive addresses too, because pornographers—and other spammers, of course—just switch to another address. Your porn—and, again, spam generally—can get so bad, you quit your account and acquire a new one. But the new one, too, can quickly get spoiled and overrun with spam. Some people—including Julie Posey—report that, when they start a new account, the porn spam begins arriving within 24 hours.

And porn can assault you when you're just doing some general—and innocent—web surfing. In fact, this is called "assaultive porn," or "ambush porn"—it's just in your face, all of a sudden, perhaps on a "pop-up screen." All the experts say that this will not go away, or diminish, until the pornographers are made to pay; until it gets too difficult, too risky, too bothersome for them.

■

Fax me a coupon for buffalo wings, and you could find yourself out millions. Yet you can apparently stuff my e-mail in-box to bursting with impunity.

■

And that means law enforcement—not necessarily the enactment of new laws, but the enforcement of ones already written. The Clinton administration, by consensus—and not just conservative, partisan consensus—fell down on this job. At first it seemed that the Ashcroft Justice Department, taking over from the Reno Justice Department, was ushering in a new day. Things were getting worse for the pornographers. They learned that someone was paying attention, and enforcing, and backed off. But then came 9/11, and anti-porn harassment and prosecution sort of stopped. One federal insider says that "Justice Department and FBI guys were pulled off porn and put on al-Qaeda. And it's doubtful, frankly, they'll ever come back. When buildings full of people are being blown up, you have other things to worry about."

But still another federal insider presses, "If you want to make an impact, you've got to play hardball. The cost of entering and exiting the [porn] market is very, very low. It's not like the old days. You can now get in and get out very quickly. So we need to take advantage of trespass and nuisance laws. And look: You can't traffic in child porn or obscene material. It's against the law. It's even against the law to publish information about where this material can be purchased. What we have to do is get serious and enforce. Then the problem wouldn't be so huge—significant, sure. It's a constant battle. But reduced."

And everyone stresses that, in the final analysis, you need a cooperative and caring citizenry—citizens who don't think of themselves as snitches, who aren't embarrassed, but who are self-confident and bold. Says the second insider, "It's up to the user community. They have to mature. You have many people who don't really feel they can bring this to anyone's attention, and they have to," especially when the well-being of children is on the line.

CAN SPAM?

Then there's the question of spam at large: Ban it? Try to ban certain types of it? Many states have anti-spam laws, but these tend to be ineffective, and anti-spam activists claim that a strong, clear federal law is needed—similar to the one, now ten years old, that prohibits "spam" by fax. There have been many bills proposed in Congress, coming from both liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans, and from those in between. None has so far come to fruition. One of the bills, the project of Sen. Conrad Burns of Montana, is called "The Can Spam Act."

Of the anti-spam groups, perhaps the biggest and best organized is the Coalition Against Unsolicited Commercial Email (found at www.cauce.org). They have branches in several countries, and sport the slogan, "Take back your mailbox!" Many libertarians, of course, are opposed to legislation against spam. The Cato Institute's Clyde Wayne Crews Jr., in a white paper, summarizes, "At bottom, spam legislation kicks open the door to further regulation of business communications." It would "create incentives for enforcers to go on 'spam hunts,' looking for evil embedded in every e-mail." And it "would have significant implications for anonymous speech—a cornerstone of our Republic."

Yet others counter that spam ought to be banned on precisely free-market principles, including property rights. Matthew Mitchell, an Internet investigator and anti-spammer in Philadelphia, says, "Spamming is theft of services, just as if someone came into your office and insisted on using your copier to print his advertisements." Though spammers "like to invoke the mantra of private enterprise and small businesses," he continues, "spam hurts many businesses," costing them time, money, and aggravation (the same things it costs an individual). In Mitchell's view, any anti-spam legislation should be "content-neutral," banning it altogether, pornography or no pornography. Otherwise, First Amendment issues may come into play. This, he says, is what makes the law against fax ads formidable.

A Hooters restaurant in Augusta, Ga., knows this well. We at NATIONAL REVIEW, editorially, cited the Hooters case as an especially egregious example of American litigiousness. A man got together a class-action suit against the restaurant after receiving some faxes offering discounts off food. A jury awarded a $12 million judgment against the restaurant—which promptly filed for bankruptcy. Junk faxes are verboten. Send me a coupon for buffalo wings, and you could find yourself out millions. Yet you can apparently stuff my e-mail in-box to bursting with impunity.

And that in-box, like so many others, is, indeed, bursting—most depressingly with porn, and with sick porn, and most alarmingly with enticements to child porn. Inertia, confusion, and embarrassment, as always, are the pornographer's friends. It's encouraging to know that some brave and generous-hearted people—like Julie Posey and the staff of the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children—are on the case. But they could use some help. **NR**

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THE LONG VIEW

By Rob Long

The Peterson Family Sends a Memo

TO: Doris Peterson
Senior Vice President
The Peterson Family Inc.

FROM: Michael Peterson
CFO
The Peterson Family Inc.

IN RE: Expenses

Dear Doris:

Pursuant to our discussion of last evening, and after careful review of your submitted expenses, it has become clear to the management of The Peterson Family Inc. that the Doris Peterson division of The Peterson Family Inc. must be shut down as of close of business today.

Please know that we will do everything possible to keep key personnel of the division (essentially, you, Doris Peterson) in the company fold. But certain other personnel (yoga instructor, decorator, Esperanza the housekeeper, the pool man, etc.) will be terminated as of close of business.

It is with great regret that we also insist on imposing on your division certain financial controls. Each check, however small, will now require the signature of the CFO of The Peterson Family Inc., and the division's ability to deal independently with vendors will be terminated, as will its ability to access lines of credit.

With the decline in 2001 revenues, prompted by the economic downturn and the financial uncertainty in the wake of the events of September 11th, austerity measures are necessary and prudent.

Please also know that the other two independent business units of The Peterson Family Inc. will also be expected to make cutbacks. As a member of the company's senior staff, you will be expected to support these measures and to assist in their implementation.

Best Regards,
Michael "Mike" Peterson
CFO
The Peterson Family Inc.

The Peterson Family Issues an Earnings Correction

TO: Chase Manhattan
Mortgage Corporation

FROM: M. Peterson
CFO
The Peterson Family Inc.

IN RE: Loan #908945287

Dear Sir or Madam:

By our year-end fiscal review, it had become clear that the earnings previously reported for The Peterson Family Inc. in CY 2001 were overstated. Our most recent audit suggests a differential of $52,982.33.

In light of this discrepancy, we are alerting our many financial partners that projected earnings for CY 2002 will also be considerably lower than earlier estimates.

A slowdown in the economy, yielding lower-than-expected year-end bonuses for certain key staff (see Appendix A: "Instead of a Bonus, Enjoy This Christmas Ham"), and the uncertainty of the economic system following the events of September 11th have contributed to a decline in Peterson earnings. In addition, certain other key business partnerships reported larger-than-usual year-end expenses (see Appendix B: "Mrs. Peterson and Neiman Marcus" and Appendix C: "M. Peterson, Jr. and His New Car; Sarah Peterson and Her Winter Formal Dress"), and these expenses did not appear on our original financial statement.

These partnerships—commonly referred to as "raptor partnerships"—function essentially as autonomous financial units with little or no financial controls or oversight in place.

Obviously, we are doing everything we can to avoid such surprises in the future. One such partnership is currently under review (see Appendix D: "Statement of Intent to File for Divorce in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts") and two others are currently being liquidated (Appendices E and F: "Kids, You're Both Fired").

In such a climate of restructuring, it will be impossible for The Peterson Family Inc. to meet its debt-reduction targets in the near future. Thus, we are currently suspending all debt payments until Q4 of 2002. We thank you for your patience and your continuing confidence in The Peterson Family Inc.'s core business, which remains the sale and marketing of Whole Life Insurance products.

Sincerely,
M. Peterson
CFO
The Peterson Family Inc.

The Peterson Family Inc. Issues a Press Release

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Peterson Family Inc.
Changes Its Name

Following nearly 20 years as a family-owned and -operated unit, The Peterson Family Inc. has changed its name to PeterSonIx. Its core business, the sale and marketing of Whole Life Insurance products, remains unchanged.

After completing a top-to-bottom restructuring this month, PeterSonIx shed several money-losing partnerships, notably three "raptor-style" arrangements with Doris Peterson, Michael Peterson, Jr., and Sarah Peterson. The remaining key business unit, Michael "Mike" Peterson, serves as Chairman and CEO of the reorganized PeterSonIx enterprise.

"I'm enthused and energized by the work ahead," said Peterson. "While the past few months have been difficult on a business level, I look forward to the challenges and opportunities of a new, leaner PeterSonIx organization. I still see tremendous growth potential in the Whole Life Insurance products industry. Now that we have our costs under control, PeterSonIx is poised for rapid growth. Also, I've lost about 25 pounds and am dating again."

PeterSonIx also announced today that it is relocating its headquarters from 308 Lazy Acres Circle to Oakwood Furnished Apartments, Unit 2376.

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HELP!!!!

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DO YOU WANT TO FLY OR ARE YOU IN A HURRY TO GET THERE?
AIRPORT SCRUTINY OF BAGS INCREASES
THE INDIANAPOLIS STAR ©2002 CREATORS SYND.

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"He won't fetch, roll over, or play dead—I think he belongs to a union."

THE JOHN KERRYS

He's got the hair, she's got the Heinz—
From whence the catsup comes, in pints;
The combo (hair and do-re-mi)
Makes Daschle sweat copiously,
While Edwards, Lieberman, et al.
Plot 57 ways this pol
Can be, while giving no offense,
Shoved back among the condiments.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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Crossroads o Mediterranear

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Wednesday, May 1, 2002
USA | DEPARTURE
The trip of a lifetime begins today as you depart the U.S. on a regularly scheduled flight destined for beautiful Malta.

Thursday, May 2
VALLETTA, MALTA
Today you arrive in Valletta, one of Europe's most stunning cities. Enjoy luxury accommodations at the five-star Hotel Le Meridien Phoenicia, located amidst splendid gardens overlooking the city. Take some "R & R" time as the balance of the day is at your leisure. At night, enjoy a welcome cocktail reception and dinner at the hotel, where you will meet and mingle with your hosts.

Friday, May 3
VALLETTA
You'll commence this first full day in Europe with a morning tour of the city, including the Grand Master's Palace, formerly the official residence of the grand master, which houses the armory and the state rooms; and the Co-Cathedral of St. John, the main church of the Knights, completed in 1578 with Caravaggio's masterpiece, the *Beheading of St. John*, and other treasures. In the afternoon, join your comrades at the Meridien Phoenicia for our first *National Review* seminar, led by Bill Buckley.

Saturday, May 4
VALLETTA | TARXIEN | MDINA | RABAT | VALLETTA | EMBARKATION
In the morning, we'll visit the National Museum of Archaeology, with its exhibits that record the history of the Maltese islands, and then drive to Tarxien to tour its prehistoric temples, dating from about 3000–2500 B.C. On to Mdina, the island's first capital, situated impressively on a high plateau. After lunch at a local restaurant, the *NR* contingent will explore this fortified medieval town, and then tour the catacombs and Roman villa at nearby Rabat. In the afternoon we will return to Valletta's Grand Harbor to board the *Sun Bay I*, which departs in the evening, headed for some of the most heralded sites of Western civilization. Tonight enjoy the first of *NR*'s two "smokers," featuring world-class H. Upmann cigars.

Sunday, May 5
PORTO EMPEDOCLE | AGRIGENTO, SICILY
Today we visit the beautiful southwest coast of Sicily, where the *Sun Bay I* will pull into Porto Empedocle. From there we will drive to nearby Agrigento, the home to awe-inspiring ancient architecture and artifacts. Set on a ridge facing the sea, Agrigento's series of superb Doric temples are perhaps the most captivating of Sicily's Greek remains. View the Temple of Hercules, constructed in the 6th century B.C.; the Temple of Concord, a remarkably preserved edifice; and the Temple of Juno, noted for its graceful proportions. This afternoon we'll return to the *Sun Bay I* for relaxing and sailing.

Monday, May 6
AT SEA | TAORMINA, SICILY
The morning finds us pleasurably sailing the Mediterranean, and after breakfast comes the second *NR* seminar. After lunch, we arrive in Taormina, one of the most beautifully situated cities in all of Italy. Founded in 396 B.C. by Greek colonists from Naxos, Taormina, an archaeological treasure-trove, prospered throughout both the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Visit the magnificent Greek theater, explore the medieval palaces, and stroll through the city's lovely gardens and terraces. Back aboard ship this evening, trip the *luce fantastico* at a delightful *NR* cocktail reception with friends old and new.

Tuesday, May 7
PALERMO | SEGESTA | MONREALE | PALERMO
This morning we arrive in Palermo, Sicily's

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ND THE EDITORS OF NATIONAL REVIEW ON THE

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May 1-11, 2002

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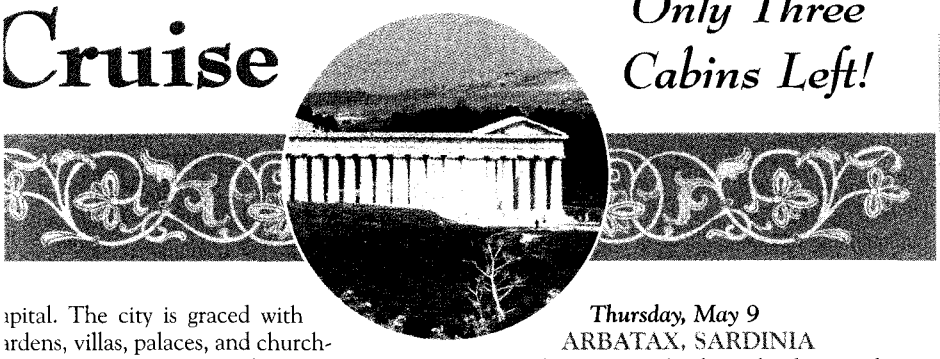

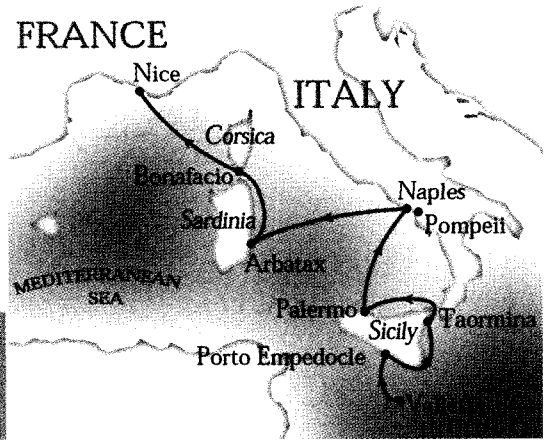

ıpital. The city is graced with ırdens, villas, palaces, and church- that come in a variety of architectural yles, reflecting its long history. Driving from ılermo in the morning, we arrive in Segesta view its unfinished temple, situated in ıajestic solitude atop a rural hill. After lunch the small medieval town of Monreale, we'll ur its famed cathedral and elegant cloister; ınstructed from 1174 to 1176 by William II, ıe cathedral's interior contains a magnificent ries of mosaics. In the afternoon, we return Palermo to visit the glorious Cappella ılatina, one of Italy's finest works of art. We'll epart in the evening and enjoy another stim- lating *National Review* seminar aboard the unning *Sun Bay I*.

Wednesday, May 8
OMPEII | NAPLES, ITALY
oday the *Sun Bay I* ventures to Naples, from hich we'll head to the famed historical site f Pompeii, ravaged and buried when esuvius erupted in A.D. 79, and now restored" after 200-plus years of painstaking xcavations that reveal an extraordinary ealth of information about domestic life in ıe Roman Empire. Tour highlights include ıe Forum, the Temples of Apollo and ıpiter, the Stabian Baths, and the House of ettii. Following lunch we'll visit the lational Archeological Museum in Naples t houses a massive collection of Pompeii easures). The evening features another *NR* ıoker" back on the *Sun Bay I*.

Thursday, May 9
ARBATAX, SARDINIA
Today we visit Sardinia, landing at the pretty eastern port of Arbatax, located on the Bellavista promontory, a wondrous red porphyry hill that projects into the sea. From here we'll explore beautiful surrounding villages, including Baunei, situated under limestone crags, and Urzuleir, built on mutliple levels on the slopes of Punta Is Gruttas. Then enjoy another *National Review* seminar aboard the *Sun Bay I*.

Friday, May 10
BONIFACIO, CORSICA | AT SEA
Today's feature is Sardinia's "sister" island, Corsica. In the morning *Sun Bay I* enters the scenic, fjord-like waterway that leads to Bonifacio. We'll disembark and explore this exotic town, visiting its famed cliffs and the Pertusato Lighthouse. Back on the *Sun Bay I*, we'll enjoy a relaxing afternoon sailing the Mediterranean, and revel in the final *National Review* seminar. And before another sumptuous dinner, we'll experience one last glorious eruption of conservative camaraderie at our farewell cocktail reception.

Saturday, May 11
NICE, FRANCE | DISEMBARKATION | USA
The *Sun Bay I* arrives this morning in Nice. You'll disembark and transfer to the airport for the return flight to the U.S.

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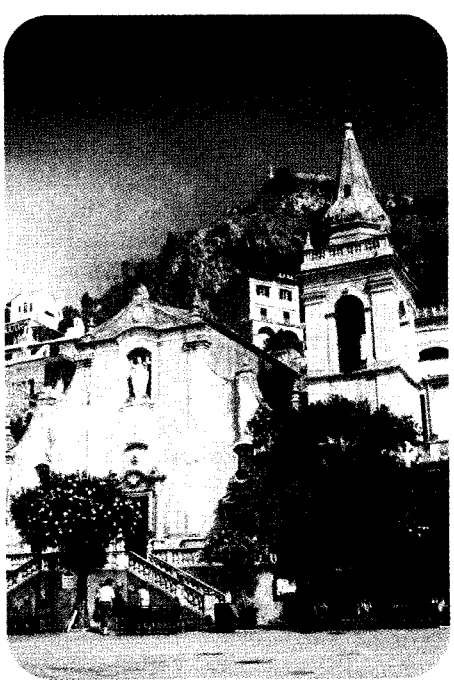
May 11 – 13, 2002

Located in the heart of the French Riviera, Nice is one of the Mediterranean's most beautiful cities, with its lovely gardens, splendid sea-views, and chic boulevards. After disembarking, we visit the Chagall and Matisse museums. In the afternoon, transfer to the deluxe Hotel Meridien. Evening at leisure. The following day, drive to Antibes for a tour of the 16th-century Chateau Grimaldi, home to the Picasso Museum. Continue to St-Paul-de-Vence for lunch. Enjoy an afternoon tour of the old village and a visit to the Maeght Foundation, home to one of the best modern-art collections in the world. Return to Nice in the evening for overnight.

Price per person, double occupancy: $595 (Price includes two nights at the Hotel Meridien, including American breakfast daily, tours as described, and lunch on May 12th.)



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Great Scots!

MICHAEL KNOX BERAN

How the Scots Invented the Modern World: The True Story of How Western Europe's Poorest Nation Created Our World & Everything in It, by Arthur Herman (Crown, 392 pp., $25.95)

"I am a typical Irishman," George Bernard Shaw once said. "My family came from Yorkshire." That the north of England should have contributed to the creation of such an idiosyncratic Irishman as Shaw is an illustration of one of history's truths, that Providence relishes a paradox. In his new book, Arthur Herman examines another instance of the same truth; he tries to understand why the most illuminating philosophers of what is often called English liberty grew up in the environs of Edinburgh and Glasgow.

The title of the book is itself evidence of the subtlety with which Herman, the author of books on Joe McCarthy and the idea of decline in Western history, analyzes the paradox of the Scottish Enlightenment. When he argues that the Scots "invented" the modern world, Herman does not mean that Adam Smith and David Hume dreamed it all up themselves. But "invent" has an older meaning: to discover and understand. The Scottish moral philosophers of the 18th century did not, like a number of their French counterparts, seek to construct a new world, a revolutionary utopia, a republic grounded in fond experiments and paper logic; they instead tried to understand certain traditions and institutions that had spontaneously arisen in the course of man's work, but

Mr. Beran is writing a book about Thomas Jefferson.

David Hume by Roman Genn

that were still misunderstood even by many intelligent observers.

One of these institutions was the marketplace. Markets were not designed by a far-sighted lawgiver, nor were they created in the 18th century. Chaucer's "marchants," after all, were well versed in the principles of "eschaunge"—foreign-currency hedging transactions—centuries before Adam Smith began his inquiry into the wealth of nations. And yet for much of history, moral philosophers have, from ignorance or conceit, disparaged market-making activities whose utility they only dimly comprehended. What were merchants, they asked, but parasites and profiteers? The Scottish philosophers set out to change this, and brought a deodorizing genius to bear on a world that generations of learned men had hesitated to touch. As part of the effort at moral fumigation, David Hume patiently explained that the derided merchants were actually "one of the most useful races of men": They served as indispensable "agents between those parts of the state, that are wholly unacquainted" with one another.

Hume's disinfectant was effective in part because he delivered it in prose that not even the most fastidious Oxford don could fault. He enjoyed the advantage, too, of a familiarity with the habits and vanity of philosophers; he knew that, when the wise men did occasionally rouse themselves from their lazy contempt for the marketplace, they believed they could outsmart it. Their misplaced confidence helps to explain the special pleading of so many sages, their (ongoing) attempts to persuade the state to subsidize their own pet projects. (The spirit of Jean-Baptiste Colbert lives on in Amtrak and the Northeast milk monopoly.) An entirely unnecessary and usually harmful business, Hume said. The "constant rule of the magistrate," he wrote, should be "to leave [each industry] to itself, and trust its encouragement to those who reap the benefit of it." As long as "matters are not disturbed by injudicious tampering," he added, the resultant "commodity is always sure to be at all times nearly proportioned to the demand."

But how did quiet bachelors like Hume and Smith, whose chaste lives seemed almost to revive the medieval traditions of cloistered learning, become oracles of those forces that usually baffle and abash a philosophical mind? The young Hume, it is true, made an attempt to be a businessman; in his early twenties he went to Bristol, armed, he said, with "some recommendations to eminent merchants." But he soon found "that scene totally unsuitable to me," and in a moment of crisis he crossed the Channel, retired to a cottage in Anjou, and composed his *Treatise of Human Nature*. As for Smith, it is difficult to say whether he was more or less fortunate than Hume; he spent seven formative years at Oxford. His experience there was not happy; Smith later described universities as sanctuaries "in which exploded systems and obsolete prejudices find shelter and protection, after they have been hunted out of every corner of the world." But his lukewarm bath in academic stupidity may have helped stimulate him to do the thinking that made the *Wealth of Nations* possible.

Good as his book is, Herman does not,

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I think, succeed in explaining why poor struggling Scotland produced, in so short a period of time, such a luminous and useful quantity of intelligence. Nor is Herman to be faulted for this; miracles are by definition resistant even to the most insistent forms of human ingenuity. In his *Treatise of Human Nature,* Hume showed that we live in a mysterious and ultimately incomprehensible universe. The more Hume thought about it, the stranger the universe and his own existence seemed to him; in his book he left a memorable account of the "melancholy" and "despair" into which his thinking led him:

> Where am I, or what? From what causes do I derive my existence, and to what condition shall I return? Whose favour shall I court, and whose anger must I dread? What beings surround me? and on whom have I any influence, or who have any influence on me? I am confounded with all these questions, and begin to imagine myself in the most deplorable condition imaginable, inviron'd with deepest darkness, and utterly depriv'd of the use of every member and faculty.

The best we can do, Hume said, is not allow ourselves to become morbid about our situation. Granted, he said, we are all in some measure fools; our follies, then, should "at least be natural and agreeable."

It was precisely this, their understanding of the depth and complication of human existence, that enabled the Scots to avoid involving themselves in the shallow verities of the French Enlightenment. It was not simply, as is sometimes said, that the Scottish philosophers were empirical in their approach, and that the French were enamored of abstract reason. The difference was also one of sensibility, and of disparate degrees of perceptivity. The proponents of the French classical tradition prized compression and order in all things; and although in the arts these qualities helped to produce masterpieces, their role in philosophy was more limiting, and issued finally in the cold elegant wit that flourished in the *hôtels* of Paris. The perfume and confectionery of Voltaire, at once the perfection and ruin of a style, masked a complacent, dogmatical turn of mind; and in the Voltairean vow to "erase the infamy," philosophy was degraded into sloganeering.

The Scottish thinkers, untempted by the cheaper pleasures of propaganda, were able to shed light on a question we are still struggling to answer: Have the enchantments of the market rendered the older forms of idealism obsolete? Although the Scots were convinced that the older traditions were not defunct, they feared for their continued vitality. There was, they believed, a spiritual usury at work in the marketplace that, if unresisted, would eventually deplete valuable reserves of human nobility. Men might end up paying dearly for their opulence; Smith noted that the ever more specialized forms of behavior that the market demanded had already begun to disfigure human character.

■

The Scots' grandest ambition was to unite the rose and the cash register.

■

Each of the Scottish philosophers confronted these difficulties in his own way. Smith, drawing on the work of his teacher, Francis Hutcheson, tried to make room, in his philosophy, for sympathy: an inborn moral sense that delights in benevolent action. This is what Herman calls the "soft" side of the Scottish Enlightenment, its sentimental faith in "man's innate goodness." Hume, together with his mentor, Lord Kames, embodied the "harder" qualities of the Scotch philosophy; but even Hume believed that the progress of *le doux commerce,* the gentle commerce, tended to promote the virtues of sociability and humanity.

With words like "compassion," "sympathy," and "humanity," the Scots were reaching for a plain English word: "love." Nostalgia for the older Western theories of love—the ideal love that animated the troubadours and inspired the ancient chivalry—is everywhere evident in the pages of the enlightened Scots. And yet for all their desire to walk down those gallant avenues, the Scottish philosophers could not believe, as Europeans in an earlier age had, in a love capable of creating a world: a love that could gather up the scattered pages of the universe and bind them together, as though in one book.

Their grandest ambition was to unite the rose and the cash register; but their effort to establish a secular conception of love, one that could take the place of the divine one, seems to me to have been a failure. Their concept of sympathy was too anemic to take strong root in the imagination, or to be the cause of much practical good (in the way, for example, that the medieval notion of courtesy had been). In the harder contest of poetry, the sentimental school the Scots helped to found inspired only second-order work. *Werther* and *La Nouvelle Héloïse* are read primarily by graduate students today; I am not sure Ossian is read at all. The formulations of the lapsed Presbyterians of Edinburgh, however ingenious they might be, could never have taken the place of the old dismantled chantries.

Still, the Scots succeeded in doing much good. They explained better than anyone else has ever done (with the possible exception of Hayek, their 20th-century disciple) why British market-oriented (or Whig) notions of liberty allowed both freedom and prosperity to flourish. In justifying the Whig theory of liberty, the Scots prepared the way both for the framers of the American Constitution and for the classical liberalism of the last two centuries—for free trade, *The Edinburgh Review*, the Manchester School, and the Dow Jones Industrial Average.

Their exertions to translate the mystical tenderness of the medieval rose into a secular philosophy were less immediately fruitful; but the impulse eventually flowered in the chivalry of Sir Walter Scott, who helped to form the modern Tory sensibility, and who was the first to cultivate the ground where Newman, Ruskin, Disraeli, and Oakeshott afterwards reaped. Intellectual genealogies become more complex, bloodlines more intricate, as the 19th century progresses; but few of the great schools of modernity, those of the liberals, the socialists, the Romantics, the rebels—the constructive builders and the repining discontented spirits of the modern world—are clear of a debt to the Scots. And yet the question of influence is really a secondary matter; Hume and Smith remain readable in their own right, have still the power to amuse and instruct, and can still do much to illuminate our world. **NR**

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Men o' War

BRIAN C. ANDERSON

Warrior Politics: Why Leadership Demands a Pagan Ethos, by Robert D. Kaplan (Random House, 198 pp., $22.95)

SINCE September 11, America's political and military leaders have had to make many tough moral decisions. How many Afghan civilian casualties would be "acceptable" in waging the war on terror? How cozy should the U.S. become with unsavory regimes in the Middle East, if they could provide key intelligence that might help us nab Osama bin Laden and other terrorist bosses? Should the U.S. use targeted assassination to take out terrorists? For some, even to contemplate measures that would involve civilian casualties, alliances with despots, or assassination is morally compromising; actually to carry them out would put the U.S. on the same level as its fanatical Islamist enemies. A priest's sermon at a Catholic service I attended shortly after September 11 perfectly expressed this moral perfectionism; the U.S. must not respond militarily, he argued, but instead be the "gentle giant."

Robert D. Kaplan, an *Atlantic Monthly* correspondent and author of several books on international relations, thinks such moral delicacy both naïve and immoral. In this lively new book, he argues that America's political leaders, confronted with the stark realities of 21st-century global politics, and entrusted with the safety of those who have elected them, have the moral responsibility to free themselves from what he sees as Judeo-Christian niceties and instead seek guidance from the tough-minded historians and philosophers of pagan antiquity, and those writers and statesmen inspired by them. Kaplan's "warrior" heroes are Homer, Thucydides, Livy, Sun-tzu, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Malthus, America's Founders, and Churchill.

Kaplan never defines his pagan "ethos," but several components of it are clear. First is a tragic sensibility that recognizes the permanence of human evil and political conflict. It was because he possessed in full this tragic sense, gained from years of historical reflection, classical learning, and hard military experience, that Winston Churchill—a kind of exemplary modern pagan in Kaplan's view—saw through Hitler from the start, when few others did. Such a realistic worldview, Kaplan adds, would also make American political leaders deeply skeptical of pursuing legal solutions to global conflict—a permanent temptation for liberal humanitarians, who have long sought such remedies, from the failed Kellogg-Briand Pact banning war after World War I to the multilateralism of the Clinton years. Managing conflict among nations is possible; ending it is not.

■

In Kaplan's view, moralism has no place in foreign policy.

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If Churchill had no illusions about evil and conflict, he also knew—and this is a second element of Kaplan's pagan ethos—that history is not fate: Individuals can move and shape it, even when faced with huge obstacles. "Root causes" do not determine the destiny of man. Kaplan devotes several illuminating pages, heavily indebted to the historian Paul Rahe, to Churchill's extraordinary 1899 book *The River War*, which describes how, during the late 1890s, colonial Britain used guile, spirit, and force to recapture the Sudan from the Muslim warriors who had briefly conquered it. The genius of Churchill's narrative, Kaplan says, is to show how an "intractable physical and human landscape becomes the obstacle that moral men surmount."

But Churchill also teaches that some humility is vital if political action is to succeed. History may be open to human will, but not every obstacle can be surmounted. In Kaplan's outlook, the political leader must embrace what the French political theorist Raymond Aron called "probabilistic determinism": understanding that human freedom works within certain economic, political, and social constraints. By taking into account such constraints, America's leaders will be better able to use the freedom they possess.

In trying to move and shape history, Kaplan stresses, America's political leaders must be willing to get their hands dirty. Here Machiavelli and Sun-tzu are the best guides. "As Machiavelli says, in an imperfect world men bent on doing good—and who have responsibility for the welfare of a great many others—must know occasionally how to be bad, and to savor it." Democratic statesmanship requires a morality of consequences, not intent. Drawing on Sun-tzu, Kaplan observes that such a political morality would justify "every manner of deceit" if it prevented a greater evil like war.

According to this view, moralism has no place in foreign policy. A misplaced emphasis on human rights, for example, can lead to outcomes that actively harm human flourishing. However unjust, the military dictatorship now running Pakistan is preferable to the Islamic militants who might take power through democratic means. The modern media will be "willful and dangerous" enemies of the kind of leadership that accepts that a dictatorship might sometimes be better than a democracy, because the media are politically unaccountable and so can indulge in moral posturing. American statesmen must know how to ignore media moralists.

A final aspect of Kaplan's pagan ethos is a healthy patriotism, as beautifully expressed by the Roman historian Livy, who "shows that the vigor it takes to face our adversaries must ultimately come from pride in our own past and our achievements." Those who undermine American patriotism threaten the nation's future.

The future such an ethos will try to master, Kaplan bleakly predicts, will be full of danger. Darwinian global capitalism is ripping up age-old traditions and spawning terrifying inequalities, divid-

Mr. Anderson is senior editor of *City Journal* and author of *Raymond Aron: The Recovery of the Political*.

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ing the world into a small number of super-bright cosmopolitans, like us, who grow rich from the new world order, and hundreds of millions—a new "subproletariat"—who just can't keep up. The unemployed young men of this emerging global underclass, crowded into overpopulated cities and enraged by their poverty, make for a swelling army of potential Islamist terrorists. These new terrorist enemies, Kaplan thinks—prophetically, since he wrote this book before September 11—will be incredibly savage, Homeric "warriors" who will use horrific low-tech weapons to offset our vast technological advantages. Only America will have the power and wealth and civic virtue needed to defeat these resentful warriors and make the world less dangerous—if, that is, our leaders are sufficiently attuned to the wisdom of his pagan tradition.

What should we make of Kaplan's argument? Much of it is entirely sensible and serves as an important reminder that political reason is something different from interpersonal morality. A government that followed my priest's suggestion to avoid fighting back against the perpetrators of September 11 would encourage future attacks and the loss of more innocent lives. The statesman's chief responsibility is to protect the citizenry.

But Kaplan's paganism isn't without problems. Consider his celebration of Machiavellianism. Why should a political leader "savor" getting his hands dirty? Did Lincoln relish the steps he took to win the Civil War? Shouldn't the proper attitude toward killing civilians or using deceit during wartime be one of haunted necessity? Two of the great Machiavellians of the 20th century, after all, were Stalin and Hitler; surely Kaplan doesn't want to elevate such monsters into moral exemplars. He does admit that an unchecked dirty-hands approach would lead politicians to "drown in cynicism and deceit," but he provides no criteria, other than the "character" of political leaders, to say when it's okay to use Machiavellian tactics and when it's not.

Kaplan's desire to elevate a warrior ethos also leads him to call views pagan that aren't pagan. Kaplan describes America's Founders as pagans, for example, because they designed a republic that takes into account the human propensity for evil. But as Michael Novak shows with overwhelming documentation in his important new book, *On Two Wings*, what drove most of the Founding Fathers was a *Biblical* understanding of human sinfulness.

Indeed, from Augustine to Aquinas to Reinhold Niebuhr to contemporary writers like Novak and George Weigel, Christian thinkers, acutely aware of man's fallen nature, have made all the good arguments about the need for force and the permanence of this-

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worldly conflict that Kaplan attributes to paganism. Yet they have retained a crucial place for a transcendent *ought* that limits the evil governments can do. Kaplan pays only lip service to Christian just-war theory, and regularly disparages the Judeo-Christian tradition of moral and political reflection. Also, are Machiavelli and Hobbes really part of a pagan tradition? It makes much more sense to describe them, as the political philosopher Leo Strauss did, as proto-moderns.

In addition, Kaplan's reading of where global politics is heading is flawed in crucial ways. His belief that economic globalization is creating a new global subproletariat is simply a myth. In an important recent study, World Bank economists David Dollar and Aart Kraay conclude that the current wave of globalization, beginning around 1980, has actually promoted economic equality. More important, globalization has resulted in a spectacular reduction in world poverty, even in countries, like China, where it *has* led to greater inequality. World Bank data show that, during the past decade of accelerated globalization, roughly 800 million people escaped poverty. Kaplan's analysis would lead us to oppose globalization as a cause of human suffering, when it is in fact easing lives on an unprecedented scale.

Even if globalization were creating a new pariah class, however, it still wouldn't be breeding terrorism, as Kaplan thinks. Militant Islam has surged in countries with booming economies, like Kuwait. A poor Muslim country like Bangladesh, conversely, isn't a terrorist hotbed. It seems, furthermore, to be relatively well-off, university-educated young men who are most attracted to jihadism. Kaplan sometimes grasps the weakness of the economic determinism that undercuts his main argument about freedom and history. At one point, he observes, "Anyone who assumes that economic incentives determine the future of world politics should read *Mein Kampf*."

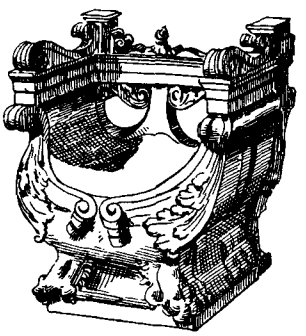
These criticisms aside, Kaplan has written a provocative book. Tough measures and tragic choices will be necessary to win the war on terror, and revisiting Kaplan's preferred political thinkers will hardly lead us astray. **NR**

What It Takes

NOEMIE EMERY

When Character Was King: A Story of Ronald Reagan, by Peggy Noonan (Viking, 224 pp., $24.95)

SUCCESSFUL presidents, as Tolstoy somehow neglected to tell us, are all alike, while each failure fails in his own way. Warren Harding, Herbert Hoover, and Jimmy Carter did not fail the same way as Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon, but each damaged the country. By contrast, the best ones—Washington, Jackson, Lincoln, the Roosevelts, the early Cold War presidents, and yes, Ronald Reagan—all shared some pertinent traits: All were able to define and embody the national purpose and character, to name the key challenges of their era and meet those challenges. Reagan, it is becoming more and more evident, met these criteria, and merits inclusion in this roster of notables. What is less obvious is that he is in no way as different from the others as he seems.



Two things have conspired to make him seem special. First, he came from the entertainment world, not business, the law, or the army; and no one before had thought of the film studios as a breeding ground for future world leaders. Second, he reached power at a time when the traits shared by all these great American leaders of the past—a fierce patriotism, a keen moral sense, and an ease with and wish to use power—were no longer in style with the chattering classes, and even considered outré and sinister.

Didn't Reagan know that power was useless, that virtue was relative, and that talking of force could get you in trouble? No, he didn't, which is the source of his claim on our interest and loyalty. So says Peggy Noonan, his one-time speechwriter, who is becoming these days a student of power. It turns out that the film star from Dreamland was really a fairly conventional national leader; and it was precisely because he enraged the elites of his era that he became, Noonan says, a great man.

Noonan details the contempt in which Reagan was held by the supposed intellectual heavyweights of his era, and gives us a full page of epithets from pundits and hacks who are or who should be forgotten: "amiable dunce" (from Clark Clifford); "shockingly dumb" (from Jimmy Breslin); and so on. They were scared by the arms race, rattled by Star Wars, stunned by what they considered Reagan's naïve and provocative references to the "evil empire." But if Reagan was mocked in Manhattan and Georgetown, Natan Sharansky, locked up in the Gulag, was thrilled. "President Reagan understood the nature of a totalitarian regime," Sharansky told Noonan. "He had very healthy instincts about it. He was a fresh change after Nixon's attempts at détente, and Carter, who talked well but couldn't link practical policy to this talk . . . Star Wars was a way of talking to the Soviet Union." As a result of Reagan's new approach, Sharansky says, "the fate of the dissidents [became linked] to the policy of the United States."

Liberals assumed that Reagan's words and actions would end in war or disaster. Instead, they ended in the peaceful defeat of the Communists in Latin America; then of the Communists in Eastern Europe; and, finally, of the Communists in Russia itself. The uses of force as a threat and a tactic had once been understood by American presidents, but these crucial simplicities eluded Reagan's critics. "The clever men and women of his time were more often than not fooled by the arguments and maneuvers of the Soviets," Noonan tells us. "But Reagan, who did not think himself clever, was not."

Noemie Emery is a writer on American politics and history.

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One reason that Reagan appears an exotic is that he was a man out of time. In an age demoralized by lost wars and liars, he bore the faith of the hot and Cold Warriors, who took on and shattered the Axis alliance, drew lines in the sand against Soviet Russia, brought Europe back from the dust and ashes, created a boom, cracked the atom, and then sent a man to the moon. His contemporaries believed in limits and boundaries; he still looked to great possibilities. They believed in American guilt; he believed in American promise. He also believed in confrontation, and, as Sharansky noted, the power of moral ideals. He was indeed retrograde, but not in the way that his critics suspected. His "evil empire" phrasing harked back to iron curtains, days of infamy, and people willing to bear burdens and pay prices. He did not refer back to the past as it was portrayed in old John Wayne movies, but to the real past of Churchill, Roosevelt, and Kennedy.

He broke with his old idol, FDR, on domestic policy, because he came to believe that the country had been overgoverned. But in foreign affairs, he remained his master's disciple: a determined warrior, dreaming of peace. "The old movie actor confidently promoted the liberal establishment's old worldview as if there had never been a Vietnam, with its stern lessons of caution and humility and limits," Robert Kagan wrote recently. "The truth is that Reaganism—that combination of ebullient confidence in the superiority of American society, and the determination to triumph over the evil of Communism—was little more than the resurrection of the old establishment's worldview."

It is no accident that the four presidents of the hot-war and Cold War consensus (FDR, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy) are all considered very consequential by the historians, while none of the later presidents—except for Reagan—makes the historians' cut. Reagan of course understood this dynamic. Noonan quotes him as follows: "I wasn't a great communicator, but I communicated great things, and they didn't spring full bloom from my brow, they came from the heart of a great nation. . . . They called it the Reagan Revolution . . . [but] for me it always seemed more like the Great Rediscovery—a rediscovery of our values and our common sense."

Reagan was laughed at as "only an actor," but this too had been a good thing. Sculptors work in stone; painters in oils; actors with voice and movement. A great politician is also an artist, of the actor type; and power is the medium in which he works. Reagan, it

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A great politician is also an artist, and power is the medium in which he works.

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is clear, understood power, and knew how to use it to achieve results. He was also a visionary, who knew how to feed imagination into calculations of power. "A lot of people are limited by their own lack of a sense of possibility," Noonan tells us. "It is considered realistic to think you have to work around reality . . . [Others] think the real thing is to change the perception [but] Reagan wanted to change reality itself." His predecessors wanted to work around Russia; Reagan engaged it. And then the world changed.

Political leadership is an art, not a science. No one knows who may have its special gifts; the best trained and brainiest often don't have it. (Johnson and Nixon didn't have it; neither did Bill Clinton.) Among those who did have it were a failed haberdasher, a faded former film star, several generals, and some privileged kids with famous last names. On a cruelly beautiful day in September, George W. Bush was faced with the worst test since Pearl Harbor and the Cuban missile crisis, respectively 60 and 40 years earlier. He reacted exactly as had FDR and John Kennedy. He was not ashamed to use words such as "evil" and "justice" and "victory"; he spelled out the stakes, rallied the nation, and summoned appropriate force.

Noonan interviewed Bush for this book before September 11, but it was clear he was already thinking large thoughts. He referred back to Reagan, and the consensus executives, as models of how to behave. He singled out Truman (to whom Noonan compares him) as a singular solver of problems. He praises Reagan and Franklin Roosevelt for single-handedly changing the concept of government, and pulling the country out of the sloughs of malaise and the Depression. "A president's job is to define the spirit of the nation," he said to Noonan. September 11 defined Bush and the nation, and he in turn defined the struggle to the world. In this, of course, he sounds rather like Reagan, whom Noonan quotes as follows, from a 1983 speech: "I urge you to beware the temptation of pride—the temptation blithely to declare yourselves above it all and label both sides equally at fault, to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong."

Truman and Reagan are now back in style—and not a moment too soon. **NR**

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— Robert P. George, McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence, Princeton University

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Morals Charge

CAROL IANNONE

The Clash of Orthodoxies: Law, Religion, and Morality in Crisis, by Robert P. George (ISI, 403 pp., $24.95)

To think reasonably is to think morally, said Samuel Johnson, for whom it was self-evident that human life is predicated on a moral structure. Not so in today's America, where moral relativism and "do your own thing" have long been fashionable. Of course, the proponents of moral relativism actually do count on some underlying principles to prevent disorder (more of this later), but they like to keep these principles vague and amorphous, the better to serve their own ends. Allegedly make some off-color remarks to a female subordinate, and you will be branded a serious criminal and face an inquisitorial firestorm—if, that is, you are a Republican. If you are a Democrat, on the other hand, you can fool around with young interns, feel up a woman job-seeker, be credibly accused of rape on a national news program, and lie under oath: It all becomes either a private matter, of interest only to an obsessed, sexually repressed puritan, or simply irrelevant. Arthur Miller's *The Crucible* is frequently revived, lest we ever forget the McCarthy witch hunts of the 1950s, but genuine contemporary witch hunts, in which human beings have suffered long prison terms owing to fantastical accusations of sex crimes elicited from children by ideologically motivated prosecutors, attract little notice.

Such is the moral anarchy of our supposedly enlightened age, in which even conservative-leaning writers seem addled by moral relativism. In his otherwise lively, interesting, and useful book *Bobos in Paradise*, David Brooks presents the differences in past and present behavioral codes as a wash. We don't live in an amoral age, he insists, it's just that our modern morality is *different* from that of our elders. Where they had stringent codes governing sex, for example, we have stringent codes governing smoking and recycling. The puzzled reader is left to wonder if such an intelligent gentleman could really believe that there is any kind of equivalence between these two types of strictures.

Thankfully, there are still some among us who uphold changeless moral principles, including, notably, former drug czar William Bennett and Robert P. George, professor of jurisprudence at Princeton and author of this important new book. Provocatively, the "orthodoxies" to which George refers are traditional Judeo-Christian morality on the one hand and what he calls the "secularist orthodoxy" on the other, which contains the various "isms" that govern contemporary life—"feminism, multiculturalism, gay liberationism, lifestyle liberalism." George aims to puncture the notion that secular liberalism is merely a matter of tolerance and procedure, possessing no substantive vision of its own. He shows instead how it is actually based on definite, if faulty, ideas about human nature and human life, and how under the guise of its supposed neutrality, it is aggressively imposing its vision on the rest of us. A second goal of this book is to refute the idea that matters of religious morality are derived from faith and therefore have no place in a liberal society dedicated (supposedly) to rational discourse. While George would surely admit that revelation-based dogmas such as the Trinity have no place in civic discussion, he argues persuasively that religiously based morality governing human action is not only reasonable, but *more* reasonable than its secular counterpart, and is therefore eminently suited to such discussion.

George addresses three categories of issues: those having to do with sexuality, such as marriage and family; those concerning "the transmitting and taking of human life," such as abortion and euthanasia; and those regarding "the place of religion and religiously informed moral judgment in public life," such as the need for a concept of "public morality" and the "crisis" created by laws permitting abortion and euthanasia. These last, George argues, deeply violate the traditional moral vision, as well as the understanding of human rights that is the very basis of the Constitution.

Regarding sexuality, George begins with the integrity of body, mind, and spirit that is a principle of traditional orthodox morality. This integrity can be realized only in marriage, George insists:

> Where sex is sought purely for pleasure, or as a means of inducing feelings of emotional closeness, or for some other extrinsic end, the body is treated as a sub-personal, purely instrumental reality. This existential separation . . . serves literally to disintegrate the person: It takes the person apart, disrupting the good of acting as the dynamically unified being one truly is.

This eminently rational understanding contrasts with the secularist view, which, argues George, is based on a mind/body dualism, in which the body is used as a mere instrument to satisfy the individual's desires absent any

Carol Iannone writes on literature and culture for a variety of publications.

THE POWER OF PROCESSION

I see that I missed it,
Missed it all along—
The power of procession:
The multitudes that throng
And pass through the world;
That old nun at her beads
Steeped in truer sound
Than any I have strung.
As the school children sing
She prays for all of them
Knowing their tears and joy
Must vanish in a flash
Of instantaneous flesh.
She kneels in agony
And prays for them and us
Lurking the side aisle
Adulterous and wise—
Who are all the lost
Failed children of God.

—RICHARD O'CONNELL

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vision of a larger moral good. Deficient in itself as a path to human fulfillment, such behavior would moreover lead to general chaos, which is why the secularist will insist on the proviso that the satisfaction of one's desires not violate the rights of others. But, George asks,

> Why should anyone respect the rights of others? Merely prudential answers—such as, people should respect the rights of others so that others will respect their rights, or people should respect the rights of others to avoid being punished—simply won't do. The fact is that people can often get away with violating others' rights. And they know it. And many do it. If people shouldn't violate the rights of others, it must be because doing so is morally wrong, but on the secularist account—why is it morally wrong? What is the source of its moral wrongness? . . . No satisfactory answer is forthcoming. None, I submit, is possible.

While the secularist stands shakily on slippery ground, searching for foundations he probably would not acknowledge even if he could find them, George can serenely declare that "free choice, rationally motivated action, and objective moral truth . . . point beyond themselves to a more-than-merely-human source of meaning and value, a divine ground of human intelligence and free will." Yes, a transcendent source, a revelation to be sure, but one that can be tested, affirmed, and chosen by human reason.

The Clash of Orthodoxies is superbly argued, wholeheartedly, confidently, and even joyfully dedicated to exploring the intricacies of the issues in its purview and dealing fully with the opposing views. (There could be more continuity between the chapters, which betray their genesis as separate efforts in different venues.) And while even traditionalists may disagree with some of his arguments and conclusions (particularly his view of John Paul II as a classical liberal), Robert P. George has done a great service in demonstrating that traditional morality still has an authoritative role to play in modern life, and in showing how a person of faith can enter the public square, fearlessly, unashamedly, intelligently, and, above all, reasonably. **NR**

Islam's Wrong Turns

STEPHEN SCHWARTZ

What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response, by Bernard Lewis (Oxford, 192 pp., $23)

WHEN it comes to Islamic studies, Bernard Lewis is the father of us all. With brilliance, integrity, and extraordinary mastery of languages and sources, he has led the way for Jewish and Christian investigators seeking to understand the Muslim world. He has, it is true, been brutally attacked—most notably by the charlatan Edward Said. Said's *Orientalism*, a ridiculous imposture from its first page to its last, is now a standard text in Anglo-American universities, but reads like the product of a rather dense college student who has just discovered Marxism; there can be no more telling condemnation of the present state of the American academy than the ascendancy of Said.

Lewis's *What Went Wrong?* is receiving a great deal of attention in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, which were a dramatic expression of the "clash of civilizations" between Islam and the West. This conflict is seen by many as a product of the gap between Western prosperity and stability and Islamic backwardness. Lewis's book, however, does not concentrate on analyzing why Islamic civilization ended up in a series of 20th-century disasters. Rather, it reviews how Islamic commentators observed and attempted to explain the decline of their global culture as it occurred, and, particularly, whom they chose to blame.

With his outstanding knowledge of the Ottomans—the caliphate that theologically guided the world's Sunni Muslims for half a millennium—Lewis works through the decline of that empire. He shows how the sultans attempted to contend with the progress of the Christian West as the latter went from strength to strength, drawing on the invigorating changes that swept aside the European past: advances in technology, the transformation of public institutions, the rise of individual freedom and responsibility, and the arrival of the slippery concept of modernity. The decay of the caliphate spurred unfortunate flights into narcissism instead of fruitful dialogues with the West. (Although Lewis neglects to address it, I

Mr. Schwartz is completing his new book, *Two Faces of Islam*.

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believe the worst such refuge was the "Islamic Reformation" represented by Wahhabism. This puritan, separatist, supremacist, and terrorist cult emerged from the wastelands of central Arabia in the 18th century, and formed the basis of the modern Saudi regime, in all its considerable evil.)

As Lewis shows, many Muslims have chosen to ascribe the historical fate of the Islamic global community to the malign action of foreign powers, above all to European imperialism and, later, Zionism and the U.S. These arguments draw analogies from the Mongol destruction, a millennium ago, of the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad.

With the influence of European-style nationalism in the Middle East, Turks, Arabs, and Persians could also start condemning each other: The Turks were assailed for their own imperialism and the Arabs for the "dead weight of their past" (in Lewis's phrase), while the Persians complained about their marginalization by Mongols, Turks, Arabs, and, later, the Western powers.

But Lewis rejects a claim that has become, in the wake of September 11, extremely widespread among Westerners: that Islam itself is the problem. He writes: "If Islam is an obstacle to freedom, to science, to economic development, how is it that Muslim society in the past was a pioneer in all three?" Joined with the theological reproach to the Islamic world is the charge that Islamic civilization has failed because it has rejected secularism; Lewis seems to echo this latter charge when he points to the modern Turkish republic as a model for Muslim renewal. But he misses a cue when he discusses the argument that "the cause of the changed relationship between East and West is not a Middle-Eastern decline but a Western upsurge—the discoveries, the scientific movement, the technological, industrial, and political revolutions that transformed the West and vastly increased its wealth and power." He asks, but does not answer, the following question: "Why did the discoverers of America sail from Spain and not a Muslim Atlantic port, where such voyages were indeed attempted in earlier times?"

To me, at least, the reply seems obvious: With the Turkish seizure of Constantinople in 1453, the Atlantic Christian powers had a considerable incentive to find a direct sea route to the Indies. For the Muslims, who then exercised decisive control over the land routes as well as maritime commerce between North Africa, Arabia, and the Indies, no such stimulus existed.

A fruitful avenue of inquiry, in my view, would compare the history of the Ottoman Empire to that of Spain and its New World possessions. Like Spain, the Ottomans had neither a Reformation, nor an Enlightenment, nor a successful bourgeois revolution; neither Spain nor the Ottomans embraced secularism until extremely late. Both empires ended up choking to death on their excessive riches; having reached a pinnacle of wealth and influence in the 16th century, they both remained there, psychologically as well as socially, and experienced a serious decline in the 18th and 19th centuries.

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The Muslims need a Bernard Lewis or two of their own.

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This brings up the issue of "an Islamic Reformation"; many today are calling for the rise of an Islamic Luther. But I would contend there is another, more realistic option: an Islamic reform similar to the one the Catholic Church has undergone over the past hundred years. What the Muslim world needs today, I would submit, is neither a Luther nor a Voltaire, but scholars who will assume the same role for Muslims that three popes fulfilled for the Catholic Church. I refer to Leo XIII, who created much of the modern Catholic social doctrine; John XXIII, who oversaw the Vatican II reform council; and John Paul II, who seeks reconciliation between the Abrahamic faiths.

Rather than resort to Protestantism, these three reforming popes reinforced their Church through a renovation of their own tradition. Nobody can doubt that all three of these popes were fervent in their devotion to their religion; this kind of reform from within is more likely to prosper in the Islamic community. What is needed is the promotion and recognition within Islam of figures who would parallel, for example, the outstanding philologist and critic Américo Castro (1885–1972). Castro, who taught at Princeton, transformed the historiography of Hispanic civilization by showing its debts to Muslim and Jewish thought, and the disaster that had overcome it when, too wealthy and rigid, it sought to root out these influences. Castro helped cure the Spanish of their neuroses about their former Islamic rulers and Jewish neighbors; the parallel with Islamic separatism and its terrible consequences is, in my view, exact.

As Lewis argues, Islam needs intellectuals who will overcome Muslim neuroses about their former Christian colonial masters and Jewish neighbors. The way I would put it is: The Muslims need a Bernard Lewis or two of their own. It is doubtful they would join him in acclaiming the legacy of Turkish secularism, which remains in great part inseparable from militarist and dictatorial tendencies. But a reexamination of the pluralist Muslim traditions of the past, represented above all by Ottoman Islam—a field in which Lewis has illuminated countless Western readers—could lead to a Catholic-style reform of Islam.

First things first, however: The Wahhabi dictatorship over Mecca and Medina—and the Saudi kleptocracy that maintains it—must be overthrown. The Turkish journalist Semih Idiz recently wrote about one prospect the Wahhabi-Saudi regime finds especially frightening: "Some Turkish Islamists have now started saying Mecca should not be under any country's sovereignty, but should instead be an open city like the Vatican. Open to all believers, that is, regardless of nationality or race. Such an idea could garner quite a lot of attention in the Islamic world. The Saudis are now worried that the Turks, with some other countries, possibly Iran, will push for an international Islamic administration for Mecca." The Saudis are standing athwart Islamic progress, in more ways than one. Henry VIII changed European and world history when he denied the pope the right to decide whom he should marry; by contrast, new Muslim leaders may change their own—and humanity's—future once they tell the pirate kings of Saudi Arabia to remove their deceitful hands from the original Islamic holy places. To borrow the final words of Lewis's latest excellent book, the choice is their own. **NR**

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Does George Love Ted?

NEW YORK, JANUARY 18

THERE has been great fuss in the last few days over broken hearts in Washington. To uncoil the story from tabloid compression, what we have is 1) President Bush and Senator Kennedy in joint embrace when the education bill was passed. 2) Mr. Bush saying very pleasant things about Mr. Kennedy a few days later when giving a speech. And 3) Teddy in a speech at the National Press Club, blasting W.'s tax-cut bill and calling for its (effective) repeal. Causing the world to wonder: Do we have here an act of gross infidelity? How can two people appear so close and, days later, divide so sharply?

The question was raised by one commentator in the context of the whole matter of the alleged incongruity of extra-ideological friendships. A few years ago, much attention was paid to the friendship of Orrin Hatch with the same Sen. Kennedy. After heated Senate hearings, Orrin was spending his time comforting Justice-designate Clarence Thomas. During the day, Sen. Kennedy was ranting against Thomas's confirmation. In between, so to speak at cocktail hour, Kennedy and Hatch were best friends, singing each other's delights to a press confounded by the heterodox friendship.

I have run into the question myself.

I have never before spoken of it, but can't think why not, 30 years after the event.

It was February 22, 1972, in Switzerland, where my wife and I dwell during that month, pursuing ski slopes and book deadlines. The call came in from longtime friend Professor John Kenneth Galbraith in adjacent Gstaad. Would we like it if Sen. Kennedy came to us for a drink later in the day?

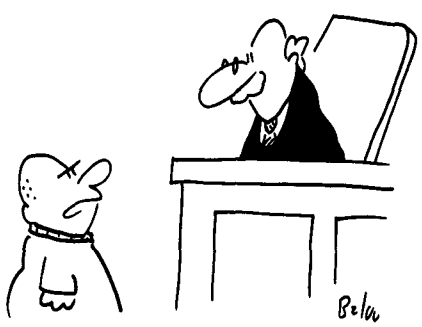
By all means. And did he ever come. He brought with him his wife, his sister, his buddy Sen. John Tunney from California, Sen. Tunney's wife, and a Spaniard who was a member of the court. That was 7 P.M. At 9 P.M., they were still there. Something had to be done about food. I called a local restaurant with modest accommodations and asked if they could squeeze in a party of nine people. They agreed, and off we went for cheese fondue. After eating, I asked if they would like to join us in a postprandial bout at the painting studio on our bottom floor. Indeed they would. Every one of them was given a paint brush and an easel. I went to fetch a bottle of champagne and, easel and paint brushes clutched in the other hand, reached to put the bottle on the ping-pong table we used for our canvasses. I managed to affix dabs of mercury red, cerulean blue, yellow amber, raw umber, and ivory white onto the rear end of Jean Kennedy Smith, future ambassador to Ireland. She had been leaning over her canvas, and now the seat of her ski pants looked like an early Seurat, a study in pointillism. But nothing could disturb the jollity of the evening. My wife supplied a spare set of pants and dammed our river of hospitality only when Teddy asked if he could borrow a car to take the gang home, and she said no, there was a bridge between us and Gstaad.

They left sometime after midnight, and we learned from J. K. Galbraith a long time later that this was Teddy's 40th birthday. Once every decade after our bacchanalia we crossed paths, and the greeting was convivial, though come to think of it, the last time around, his handshake was a study in curtness. I must have done something right in my column that morning.

Senator Goldwater several times acclaimed Teddy as a conscientious and informed senator, and the two were friendly, if not friends. The year we entertained Teddy I otherwise devoted to blasting presidential candidate George McGovern who, in later years, I frequently debated and learned that his ideological toughness cohabited with a warmth and personal generosity that greatly exceeded his political skills.

There isn't any reason why President Bush has to renounce a friendship with Ted Kennedy, just so long as he makes it clear to the American public that Mr. Kennedy is an utter ass when prescribing policy, and a distillery of meanness when he goes after a target, as with Robert Bork. There are those who frown on friendship across the aisle as if it were the subversion of a Manichaean divide—how can you be nice to Lucifer?

Well, Lucifer has his winning ways, which is of course why one must always beware of him. We angels have to keep our eyes on things. Semper paratus. Amen.



"If I'm presumed innocent, what am I doing here?"

The Queen

NEW YORK, JANUARY 22

FEBRUARY 6 will be a very big day in the British Commonwealth because Queen Elizabeth will have been queen for 50 years, a golden jubilee. By coincidence, that is also the birthday of Ronald Reagan (his 91st). Fifty years ago, he was a Democrat, though now that seems a very old affliction, whereas the British monarchy really doesn't change all that much. In anticipation of the great day ahead, a reporter for the *Daily Telegraph* of London was given continued access to the queen for several days, reminding her subjects (and progeny of her ex-subjects) of what it is that she does for her keep, a straitened life of arduous work, but reporter Gyles Brandreth lives through it, and so do the *Telegraph*'s readers.

And so can anyone interested in foreign manners, and curious to contemplate domestic versions of alien protocols. We are told that for this meeting, the beginning of the royal tour under observation, the queen is seven minutes late, which puts her in a bad mood because she does not like to be late—she considers it just plain "bad manners." That protocol, punctuality, had no effect on President Clinton, who was routinely late. Not, one suspects, because he intended to display bad manners, but because he indulged his inclinations in whatever he was doing, and since presidents are always

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doing something, the next thing up has to wait.

A problem the queen has is common to all celebrities whose life requires sustained exposure. Adlai Stevenson once remarked that a very special strain in public life was—the need to smile. Smiles come naturally when there is an incitement to smile—somebody tells a funny story, or you are surprised by someone's coming into the room, or something reminds you of something pleasant.

The endless train of foreign eminences who come by to record their arrival in Great Britain are given twelve minutes. Her own subjects receiving honors average 20 seconds. Although everyone is prepared, there are mix-ups. One senior judge, slotted for a few seconds' royal presence in order to receive some honor, "was so overwhelmed by the occasion that he curtsied right to the floor." On a famous occasion, incoming U.S. Ambassador Walter Annenberg, asked by the queen how things were going at the embassy, answered nervously, "Very well, subject to certain elements of restoration and rehabilitation." No doubt the queen met the occasion with her kindly sangfroid. Last week, on a visit to a home for autistic children, the kids cried out ecstatically, "Queen! Queen!" She replied, "I'm pleased to meet you." "She does not hug them," the reporter advises us, "as Diana would have done, or the Duchess of Kent might. That's not her style."

On the other hand, her style equips her with useful stoicism. One night, in the record of the *Telegraph*, she attended a theater benefit. "The first act closes with the finale of *The Full Monty*, the Broadway musical version of the hit film. The Royal Box affords a clear and uninterrupted view of the male dancers as they complete their striptease. In the Royal Box there is not a flicker of reaction from the royal couple. They have been to Papua New Guinea. They have seen it all before."

It isn't that nothing changes for the queen. At the intermission of that program she was present at the bar, with all other celebrities. "The queen is mingling happily. A generation ago this would not have happened. For the first 23 years of her reign, divorcées were not presented to Her Majesty. Now here I am saying to the queen: 'Do you know the Lloyd-Webbers?' and here is Her Majesty shaking hands with Andrew's third wife and trilling: 'Of course, it's so lovely to hear those tunes.'" And of course if the queen were not hospitable to divorced people, she would be very lonely at home, having survived what she referred to back then—the crumbling marriages of three of her children—as an annus horribilis.

But she is a comforting presence, as chief of government, and, manifestly, bears up well, and bears well.

Give It Back

NEW YORK, JANUARY 25

YEARS ago I passed along (and the *Wall Street Journal* recently picked up) the aphorism of a Viennese intellectual and colleague in the early days of NATIONAL REVIEW. I forget what precipitated the crack, but Willi Schlamm said disconsolately after putting down the day's paper, "The trouble with Communism is Communism. The trouble with capitalism is capitalists." To believe that capitalists will behave honorably just because they are engaged in capitalism is akin to believing that no priest will engage in pedophilia simply because he is a priest. In the early days of the Enron story one could say that there was no evidence there of criminal activity, and indeed it is fair to reiterate that when heavy stockholders sell shares in their company, they are doing so openly, so long as they registered their sales with the Securities and Exchange Commission, which in the case of the Enron Seven, was done. But we learn that the incidence of such insider sales was abnormal. The *Chicago Tribune* cites the sale of shares by insiders in the case of Dynegy, Inc., which is a Houston-based energy company that was the principal rival of Enron. They had nine instances of company shares sold. The Enron people had at least 64. It is fair to say that the Enron people were perhaps top-heavier in stock than the Dynegy people and therefore under greater pressure to diversify. But now we know that Chairman Kenneth Lay was predicting in company mailings an upturn in the stock, while selling some of his own.

What we do not know is that there was guile in the situation, though day by day the perspective appears to incriminate. We have a greater destruction of company records than is apparently justified. An accountant for Arthur Andersen has refused to answer questions from a congressional committee unless he is given immunity from collateral prosecution. It is hard for laymen to understand just what is being concealed that required so comprehensive an act of shredding. If, after April 1912, the firm that built the *Titanic* had ordered destroyed the bales of designs that guided the ship's construction, one would nod one's head in understanding. But Enron's financial records are easily documented by reconstruction, so that one understandably wonders whether the idea was to destroy one or two incriminating internal memos, on the order of those of the tobacco executives who decades ago privately acknowledged the danger of smoking, but not knowing exactly where they were filed, ordered whole acres of material tossed away.

Whatever the management did that was illegal, there is no doubt that their behavior was inconsiderate, though hardly justifying such a tragedy as the suicide of former Enron vice-chairman J. Clifford Baxter. What will happen when the lawsuits against them come to term? The *Wall Street Journal* reports that Enron carried about $300 million in directors-and-officers insurance. But such insurance policies aren't absolute guarantees of protection. Robert Hartwig, who is chief economist at the Insurance Information Institute, says that "in general, material misrepresentation is grounds for nonpayment or at least dispute of a claim for payment." But leave aside the question of monies recapturable by lawsuit. Eighteen top officers and directors of Enron executed 64-plus sales of the company's stock in 2001. Seven were responsible for 91 percent of all sales by people defined as insiders.

The proposal here is that these seven men simply return the money they made to the company—if possible, directing its routing as a contribution to the 401(k) retirement funds that evaporated in the meltdown. We are talking about $130 million. The largest sums went to former CEO Jeffrey Skilling and to former chairman Kenneth Lay.

It would be especially heartening if the offerings were made before any consolidated investigation made likely successful criminal prosecution. A gesture of the kind could detoxify much of what happened. A $90 billion company can go down for reasons that don't incriminate management. But when simultaneously, management prospers, a transcendent moral question arises, and this has happened in the case of capitalism vs. capitalists.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

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■ THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER ■

FLORENCE KING

DID I ever tell you about the time I was shocked, *shocked*, by unabashed bigotry? It happened when I lived in Seattle. The Arab oil embargo was on, and between that and Seattle's steep hills, I decided it was time to forego the convenience of an automatic and learn how to shift gears.

I called a driving school, made an appointment, and waited outside my building for the instructor. When he pulled up and I started walking toward his car, I noticed that he was staring at me with an expression of curiosity mingled with relief. I found out why when I introduced myself.

"The secretary must have got your name wrong. I've got you down as Miss *Ling*," he laughed, tapping his clipboard. "Whew! I thought you were a slant!"

Having attended racially segregated public schools that classified Asians as white, I was understandably fascinated. Needing no encouragement to expound his views, he explained that all Asians were terrible drivers, but some were more terrible than others. Filipinos were the worst because they were the smallest, and being Catholic, kept taking one hand off the wheel to bless themselves. The Japanese were in the middle ("Ah-so-so. Get it? Ah-so . . . so-so!"). The best, if you could call it that, were the Chinese and Koreans, who were terrible drivers too, but at least they were tall enough to reach the pedals.

"Last slant I had put us both in the hospital," he assured me.

After a couple of lessons I was able to shift gears at quiet residential crossings with no trouble. Encouraged by my progress, the instructor decided to show me how to do something that Seattle drivers took great pride in. I forget what he called it, but it meant holding the car on a hill without touching the brake by alternating gas and clutch in precisely coordinated feedings. It was, he said reverently, the sign of an expert driver.

That was the day I rolled backwards down Queen Anne Hill and plowed into a van that turned out to be the Bloodmobile. The inscrutable F. Ling strikes again.

We've come a long way since 1974. Back then, whites could still assume it was safe to say such things to each other. If you picked the wrong person to sound off to, you were merely diagnosed as "simplistic"—a condition of pre-bigotry something like HIV—and dismissed with an earnest little sermonette or a supercilious sniff. Nowadays, however, my instructor would automatically assume that the white stranger beside him was an avenging angel of diversity tuned to a perpetual frequency of High Snitch. He would know that one little "hate speech" is all it would take to get fired, sued, and condemned to wander through the secular purgatory of community service while the talk shows debated his status as Satan Incarnate.

Actually, the perfect place for him would be radio. Whenever I think of him, I remember those regular stock characters who used to wander in and out of the Jack Benny and Fred Allen shows of the 1940s, saying outrageous things in comical ways, setting up situations, and being so predictable that we listeners could supply the dialogue ourselves. We had only to hear their signature lines ("Pardon me for talking in your face, señorita") to know what was coming next, and millions of us in living rooms across America recited it right on cue. If the golden age of radio could create "Digger O'Dell, the Friendly Undertaker," it could have immortalized a terrified driving teacher. I can hear it now: a wrong turn into Chinatown in the middle of a tong war, somebody saying "Chop-chop" at a bad time, a mix-up involving "Confucius say" and a traffic cop named Cornelius O'Shea. The possibilities were endless back when our Great Diversity really was a gorgeous mosaic, but MultiCulties have crammed comedy into the narrow end of a funnel: When everybody's got a right to be Top Banana, there's no room left for fall guys.

Maybe it's because I remember old-time radio, or maybe it's because I was raised by people who remembered vaudeville, but I relish ethnic humor, the more slapstick the better. One of my favorite parlor games is giving titles to those novelty books the size of sugar cubes: *Who's Who of Irish Libertines . . . Great English Chefs . . . An Unabridged History of the Presbyterian Church of Spain*. Another is answering the question, "How to Avoid Getting Run Over When Crossing the Street in Foreign Countries":

Italy: Take a pregnant woman with you.

Germany: Take a soldier with you.

France: Take an intellectual with you.

England: Take a dog.

I also relish the unconscious ethnic humor of MultiCulties, as when they slip up and say, "Americans of all nationalities." They do their best pratfalls with an ingrained pre-political correctness phrase they can't avoid, which juts out of their rosy scenarios like a blurb for a disaster movie: "white flight." And their best punchline is the knee-jerk commitment made not just by politicians but by everyone with a public role, however minor: PTA presidents, directors of recreation centers, student-exchange guides, and ladies' garden clubs all promise to "end racism."

Their funniest TV spot is the "I Am an American" public-service ad in which a motley crew of citizens vie with each other to claim the greatest degree of motleyness. It opens low with tame statements like "I am half-German and half-Polish, and I am an American." Then they up the ante, and the speed as well, until bevies of earnest people are flashing across the screen finishing sentences for each other: "My parents are from Tasmania and Nigeria, and I am . . . I have a Mexican-Norwegian father and an Irish-Eskimo mother, and I am an . . . My grandfather was half-Turkish and half-Egyptian and my grandmother was a part-Cherokee Portuguese-Canadian, and . . . American!"

If this keeps up, we will soon hear a reprise of the great line from *Forrest Gump*: "I want half of you in front, and half of you in back, and the other half over there." **NR**

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Cotton is swept away by Signature

at the Hilton Niagara Falls.

Nick Montanaro
Food & Beverage Director
Hilton Niagara Falls

Tim O'Donnell
Executive Chef
Watermark Restaurant

Set atop the 33rd and 34th floors of the Hilton Niagara Falls, the Watermark Restaurant offers breathtaking views of one of the world's great natural wonders. As Food & Beverage Director Nick Montanaro attests, atmosphere is every bit as important as the fine cuisine. "Our blue-and-white water theme is designed to play off the spectacular setting."

That's why Nick chose to accent his tables with Signature instead of cotton. "Signature feels good, and it just holds its color better. The blue in the napkins stays true—there's no fading like you get with cotton and poly/cotton."

Executive Chef Tim O'Donnell agrees. "We have a reputation for serving only the freshest and finest foods. Anything less is not an option. We set the same standard with our linens. Signature looks elegant on our tables and complements our preparations beautifully."

Signature's durability also impressed Nick and Tim. "Typically," Nick says, "we'll do about 500 breakfasts and maybe 700 dinners daily. That's a lot of washes–3 to 4 cycles per week. And the Signature linen looks and feels just as good now as it did when we opened in May 2000."

For more information on Signature, call your table linen supplier; or call us at 1-800-255-8472. International inquiries, call 1-864-503-2897.

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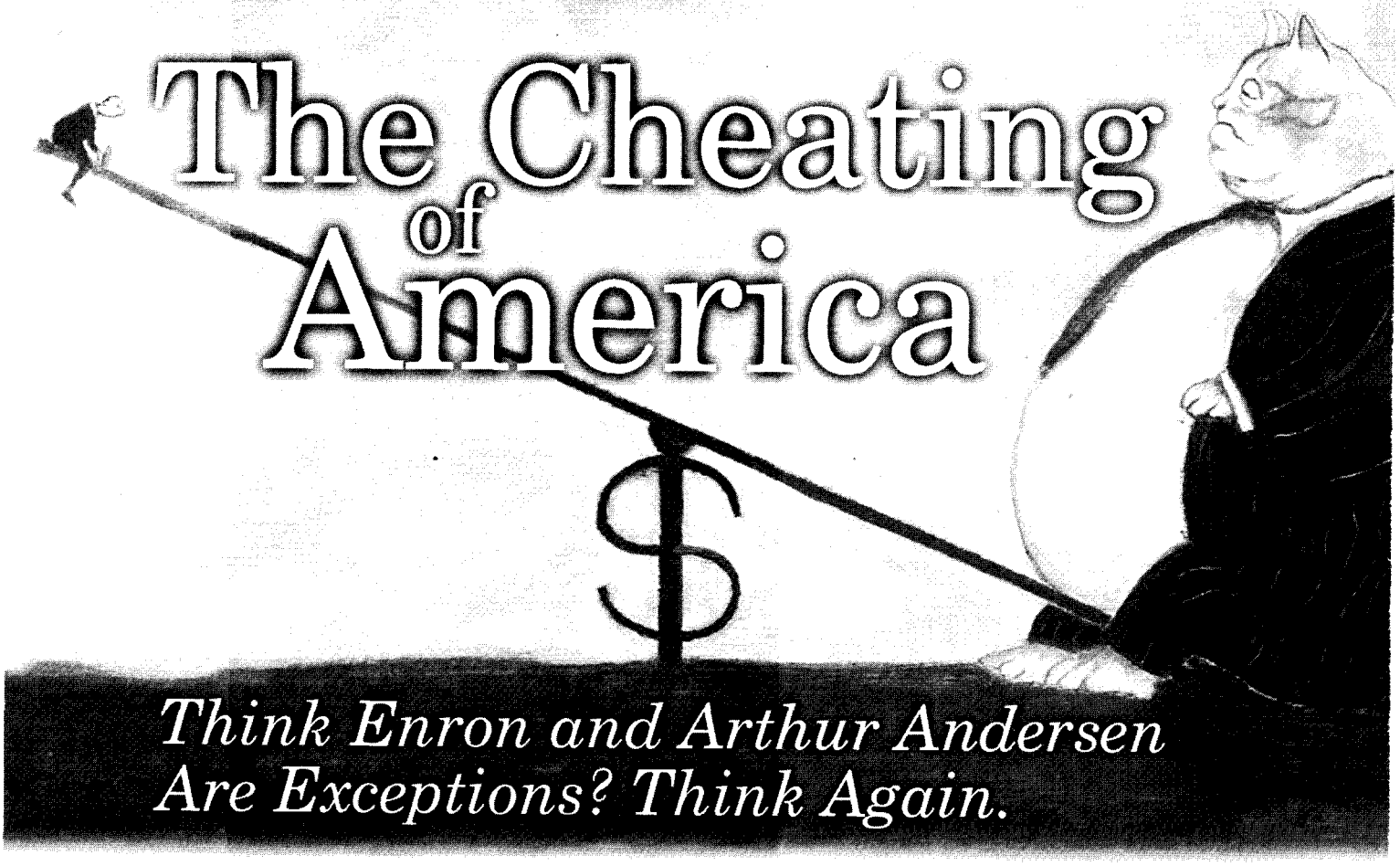
The Cheating of America



Think Enron and Arthur Andersen Are Exceptions? Think Again.

"Taxes are what we pay for civilized society," said former Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. Most Americans probably agree. No one loves the IRS, but we do our duty as citizens and pay our taxes.

But not everyone.

As the Enron-Arthur Andersen scandal shows, avoiding taxes is a big and lucrative business. Enron paid no income taxes in four of the past five years – it was able to transfer its assets among 881 subsidiaries that were set up abroad in tax-sheltered countries. And Enron is just one example. In 1995, thousands of the biggest corporations – those with assets over $250 million – reported no net income and paid no income taxes.

For a deeper look at the shady world of tax evasion, read **The Cheating of America**, by Charles Lewis, Bill Allison and the Center for Public Integrity (Harperperennial Library).

The book details how major accounting companies, law firms, and Wall Street brokerages – often with a wink and nod from Washington – help affluent individuals and corporations avoid paying their fair share of taxes. Among the book's findings:

- In 1996, over 16,000 of the richest Americans – those making $200,000 or more – enjoyed an effective tax rate under 10 percent, lower than a middle-class family. Over 1,000 of these Americans, including 101 millionaires, paid no income taxes.
- The rest of us must pay more to cover for the tax dodgers: $195 billion annually, or $1,600 per taxpayer.
- In the face of a tax-shirking epidemic, the IRS is decreasing enforcement and prosecution.

"Federal officials at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue would be shocked, SHOCKED, at any suggestion that they do not fully enforce the tax laws," says Charles Lewis. "But actions speak louder than words, and bluntly stated, those laws are not being fully enforced."

Think Enron and Arthur Andersen are exceptions? Think again. They got caught, but the cheating of America is business as usual.

TomPaine.com – The Cheating of America.
Featuring "Perfectly Legal" by Bill Allison... "Enforcement: Equal Under The Law?" by Charles Lewis... and Robert Apfel on the immorality of tax cuts for the rich.

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